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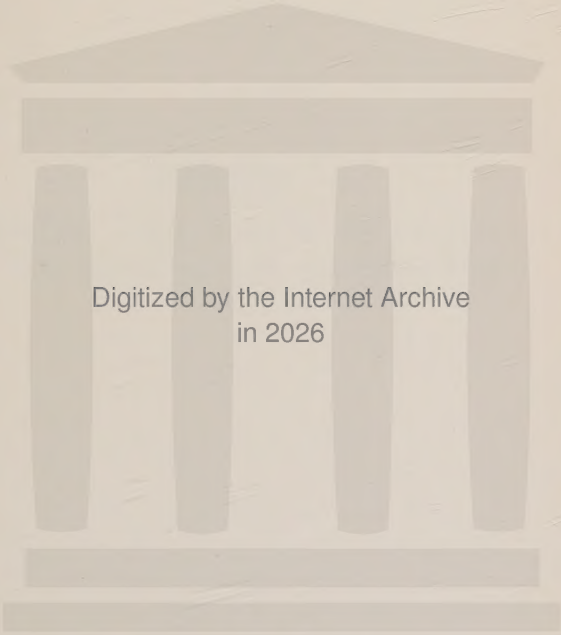

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CULEX

SOURCES AND THEIR BEARING ON THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP

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CULEX

SOURCES AND THEIR BEARING ON THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP

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CULEX

SOURCES AND THEIR BEARING ON THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORSHIP

THERE are anonymous works of art able of their own worth to sustain a place amongst their brethren of assured pedigree. But the claim which *Culex* makes upon the Latin student's attention is based so largely upon association with the name of Virgil, that the question of authorship may be said to determine the value of the poem.

Most of what is of interest and merit in it has been said, and better said, by Virgil in his authentic works. So that for those who come to *Culex*, as nearly everyone comes, after and because of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, the bloom has perished for ever, only perceptible to the eye of a faith which penetrates back to the struggles of art and is content to discern the doubtful charm in effort.

Yet, if it should be the fact that Virgil himself composed this *Culex*, nothing would compensate the student of Virgil for neglecting a work, which, however comparatively crude, gave an insight into the earlier problems and experiments whose successful outcome was later to result in the hardly-won product of authentic Virgilian verse.

We know something of the methods employed by Virgil ; we know even, or can infer from the practice, his theory of a poet's duty. But we must start with the finished article, when perhaps it would be more instructive to have a sight of the raw material under the workman's hand. It is the workman's greatness that he can conceal his process, his failures and improvings. We might be able to appreciate his work better, however, if we could see him in the struggle, failing or succeeding ; and it is in *Culex*, if anywhere, that we have the chance so to see Virgil.

Therefore the question of the authorship of *Culex* is of far greater importance than any enquiry into its intrinsic merits.

Towards solving the problem little service is rendered by critics, who reject Virgilian authorship on the ground that *Culex* is unworthy of Virgil, or that it imitates Virgil, without, on the one hand, furnishing evidence of the consistently high standard of poetic work which they assume as a birthright for Virgil, and without, on the other hand, demonstrating that *Culex* must be post-Virgilian by a more convincing method than that which consists in the simple assertion that this or that phrase, line, passage is better expressed or suits the context better in Virgil than in *Culex*. There is no limit, and no very certain decision, in argument of that kind.

Nor is it sufficient to rely upon the tradition ascribing *Culex* to Virgil, and, perched upon that unstable conviction, to challenge a proof of the

negative. The matter is not too clear to need some positive illumination from other sources.

In conducting an enquiry into the authorship of *Culex*, therefore, I shall assume no more than that there is a possibility that Virgil wrote the poem; and the end of the enquiry will be, not to show who wrote *Culex*, if Virgil did not write it, but to demonstrate whether or no Virgil wrote it. That is to say, I shall attack the question of Virgilian authorship only.

Adding the weight of external evidence to such evidence as I am able to bring forward from the poem itself in favour of Virgilian authorship, I shall consider that *Culex* must be put to the credit or discredit of the maker of the *Aeneid*, if I can demonstrate that:

(i.) There is no internal evidence to prove that *Culex* borrows from Virgil's authentic works.

(ii.) *Culex* borrows heavily from exactly those Greek and Latin poems in which Virgil was specially interested when he composed the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

(iii.) In all, or nearly all, the parallel passages where Virgil and the author of *Culex* stand to one another in the relation of borrower and lender (or vice versa), they both draw from the same sources.

(iv.) Where imitation of an earlier author is undeniable, *Culex* is consistently more faithful to the source than is authentic Virgilian verse.

(v.) There is a kind of reminiscent interplay between Virgil and the author of *Culex* extending to

the sources used earlier by the prior poet (whichever he was), of a character not likely to be the outcome of the closest study of the prior poet by the later imitator.

That these facts can be fairly demonstrated with regard to a number of lines in *Culex* and Virgil's authentic poems is, I believe, a sober conclusion from certain pieces of evidence to be brought forward in what follows.

But the reader will not expect by any means to meet everywhere with evidence of equal value. Many of the sources of *Culex* are suggested with caution, and cannot justly be styled proven sources; some even might not unfairly be called conjectured sources, of greater or less probability.

The most convincing parts of the case are, perhaps, those where examination is made of parallel passages in *Culex* and Virgilian authentic verse, and where the Virgilian sources are independently known and confirmed by exhaustive enquiry, ancient and modern.

As the reader will be compelled, therefore, to plunge into the vortex of Virgilian imitation, before he commits himself to the depths, it may be useful to recall a few well-known facts about the subsurface current to be met with :

(i.) Virgilian imitation ranges from simple transcription or translation through every degree down to simple so-called reminiscences, betrayed as imitations only by a single word, a train of thought or even the testimony of a second parallel passage.

(ii.) In many instances what is taken over by Virgil from his predecessors is recast, redecorated, or given a new setting or metrical scheme.

(iii.) Two sources may be fused together, often enough a Greek and a Latin.

(iv.) There is no evident attempt to conceal the fact of borrowing.

At the outset, it will save labour to take for granted (what has never been disputed and can be readily proved) that either the author of *Culex* was familiar with Virgil's authentic works or Virgil was familiar with *Culex*.

With that understood, I propose to examine every portion of *Culex* and Virgilian verse, where imitation on one side or the other is patent or possible, in the light of the sources, Greek and Latin, which evidently or possibly supplied material to either or both of the poets.

The reader will then have pointed out to him or be able to remark for himself :

(*α*) Common reproductions—*i.e.*, where *Culex* and Virgil both together reproduce the source.

(*β*) Private reproductions—*i.e.*, where either *Culex* or Virgil alone reproduces the source.

(*γ*) Common departures—*i.e.*, where *Culex* and Virgil both depart from the source in the same way.

(*δ*) Separate departures—*i.e.*, where either *Culex* or Virgil departs from the source, or where both *Culex* and Virgil depart from the source but in different ways.

The utility of such examination as a critical tool seems considerable.

To take a simple case. Suppose we know that A has been imitated directly by B or C; and suppose on examination we find that both B and C have cases of (α) and cases of (γ) and cases of (δ), but that B has cases of (β) and C has no cases of (β).

Then we can conclude that B has used A directly; but we cannot conclude that C has used A directly.

Suppose, however, further, that the number of (α) is small, that the number of (β) in B is large, and the number of (γ) is large.

Then we can conclude with great probability that C imitated B, and did not imitate A directly.

To take a more complex case. Suppose A has been imitated first by B and then by C, who has also imitated B, and thus fused A and B.

Certainty will not, perhaps, be attainable through any method of internal examination; but we shall expect to find that the cases of (β) in B are more numerous than the cases of (β) in C. Further, we may have the good fortune to find that within the compass of a single phrase B has a case of (β) and a case of (γ), whereas C has instead a case of (δ) and a case of (γ). If so, we can conclude with some confidence that B was prior to C.

The case where B and C are the author of *Culex* and Virgil is one of great complexity, if Virgil is also the author of *Culex*. For then the traces of cross-borrowing are more likely to be obliterated. We are not dealing with two poems, but with one

poem at two periods of the activities of one brain. However, even so, if *Culex* is prior to Virgil's authentic works, we shall expect to find a number of (α), more cases of (β) in *Culex*, a number of (γ), more cases of (δ) in Virgil's works.

The three poets (original and two imitators) are subject to the same laws of probability as three collectors of, say, one hundred marbles.

A collects 100 red marbles.

B, also collecting 100, gets 80 white marbles together, and completes his tally with 20 borrowed from A.

Thus B's heap is made up of 80 white and 20 red marbles.

C, also collecting 100, gets 80 blue marbles together, and completes his tally with borrowing 20 from A and B's heaps indiscriminately.

Thus, C's heap is made up of 80 blue + 10 red (borrowed from A) + 2 red and 8 white (borrowed from B)—*i.e.*, 80 blue + 12 red + 8 white.

To find out, *post eventum*, whether C borrowed from B or B borrowed from C, we examine the number of red marbles each has in his heap. Unless, by an incredible chance, C, dipping into B's heap of white and red marbles mixed, happened to pull out red marbles only, B's number of red marbles will be greater than C's number of red marbles (*i.e.*, reproductions will be more in B than in C).

Further, both C and B will have marbles of a colour unknown to A's heap (*i.e.*, there will be common departures in B and C).

The red marbles borrowed by C from B will be fewer than the red marbles borrowed by C from A (*i.e.*, C will have private reproductions).

But the red marbles borrowed by B from A are greater than the number of red marbles borrowed by C from A and B together (*i.e.*, B has more private reproductions than C. The common reproductions cancel out between B and C).

It follows, too, that, as both whites and blues are not found in A's heap, and C's heap contains more whites and blues than B's heap contains whites, B has more private reproductions.

A simple example:

Virgil, *Ecl.* vii. 1-2:

> forte sub argùta consederat ilice Daphnis,
> compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum.

Calpurnius, *Buc.* v. 1-2:

> forte Micon senior Canthusque, Miconis alumnus,
> torrentem patula uitabant ilice solem.

To decide priority, we have only to compare the two passages with Theoc. vi. 1-2:

> Δαμοίτας καὶ Δάφνις ὁ βουκόλος εἰς ἕνα χῶρον
> τὰν ἀγέλαν ποκ', Ἄρατε, συνάγαγον.

Both Virgil and Calpurnius have the common departures *ilice* and *forte*.

Both change the shepherds' names, though Virgil at the same time introduces Theocritus' Daphnis, omitted altogether by Calpurnius.

There are no common reproductions of Theocritus.

Virgil has separate reproductions: (i.) "compulerant greges" = *τὰν ἀγέλαν συνάγαγον*; (ii.) "in unum" = *εἰς ἕνα χῶρον*.

From which it follows that Calpurnius followed Virgil, probably not using Theocritus at all.

A further examination of the Latin poems, from which these extracts are taken, only confirms the conclusion.

Similarly, we can decide the priority question as between Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 322-338, and Calpurnius, *Buc.* v. 49-65, simply by comparing the two passages with Varro, *R.R.* II. ii. 10 *sq.*: "(aestate) cum prima luce exeunt pastum, propterea quod tunc herba ruscida meridianam, quae est aridior, iucundidate praestat. sole exorto potum propellunt, ut redintegrantes rursus ad pastum alacriores faciant. circiter meridianos aestus, dum deferuescant, sub umbriferas rupes et arbores patulas subigunt, quaad refrigeratur. aere uespertino rursus pascunt ad solis occasum."

Varro:		Virg. *Georg.* iii.:
cum prima luce	=	324 Luciferi primo cum sidere
pastum	=	323 in pascua
herba ruscida . . . iucundidate	=	326 ros in tenera . . . gratissimus herba
sole exorto potum	=	327 inde, ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora . . .
		329 ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo
		330 currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam
circiter meridianos aestus	=	331 aestibus at mediis
sub umbriferas rupes et arbores patulas	=	331 umbrosam exquirere uallem,
		332 sicubi magna Iouis antiquo robore quercus
		333 ingentis tendat ramos

Varro :		Virg. *Georg.* iii. :
aere uespertino	=	336 aera uesper
rursus pascunt	=	335 pascere rursus
ad solis occasum	=	336 solis ad occasum
Varro :		Calpurnius, *Buc.* v. :
exeunt	=	52 exeat
herba ruscida	=	54 pascua rore
potum	=	57 ad fontem compelle greges
sub umbriferas rupes et arbores patulas	=	59 aesculus umbras.
rursus pascunt	=	62 rursus pasce

Calpurnius has one separate reproduction of Varro—namely, "exeat" (Varro's "exeunt").

He has many departures from Varro, often in common with Virgil.

Virgil's separate reproductions show him to have been first in the field—indeed, I doubt whether Calpurnius had Varro before him at all.

A complex example :

In the account of the boxing match between Entellus and Dares (*Aen.* v. 426-460) Virgil imitates Homer, *Il.* xxiii., Theoc. xxii. [and Ap. Rhod. ii.].

Virgil and Apollonius are the junior pair of the four poets ; and if we did not know from other evidence that Virgil lived and wrote after Apollonius, we could still deduce the fact from a comparison between Theoc. xxii., Virg. *Aen.* v., and Ap. Rhod. ii., in spite of the fact that Apollonius' account of the fight between Castor and Amycus is comparatively short.

One incident, common to the three accounts, is an attempt by the heavier boxer to deliver a knock-out blow, which is avoided by his more nimble rival.

Theoc. xxii. :

120 ἑτέρῳ δ' ἐπιβαίνων
121 δεξιτερῆς ἤνεγκεν ἀπὸ λαγόνος πλατὺ γυῖον. . . .
123 ἀλλ' ὄγ' ὑπεξανέδυ κεφαλῇ. . . .

Virg. *Aen.* v. :

443 ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte
444 extulit : ille ictum uenientem a uertice uelox
445 praeuidit celerique elapsus corpore cessit.

Ap. Rhod. ii. :

90 ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' Ἄμυκος μὲν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθείς,
91 βουτύπος οἷα, πόδεσσι τανύσσατο, κὰδ δὲ βαρεῖαν
92 χεῖρ' ἐπὶ οἱ πελέμιξεν· ὁ δ' ἀΐξαντος ὑπέστη,
93 κρᾶτα παρακλίνας.

Virgil and Apollonius have one important departure in common—they both make the attempted blow a straight (or downward) lead delivered with the striker at his full height ("insurgens" = *ἀερθείς*, *κ.τ.λ.*).

The first comes at least from as high as the shoulder ("venientem a vertice" = *κὰδ δὲ βαρεῖαν*, *κ.τ.λ.*).

Whereas Amycus' blow in Theocritus is an uppercut to the point (*ἀπὸ λαγόνος*).

Both Virgil and Apollonius have the common reproduction—the striker's opponent escapes.

Virgil has the separate reproduction "dextram" (Theocritean *δεξιτερῆς*)—comparatively unimportant.

Apollonius has the separate reproduction *κρᾶτα παρακλίνας* (Theocritean *κεφαλῇ*), whereas Virgil has "corpore cessit."

That variation in Virgil is most important, for it enables him to make Entellus overbalance and fall to the ground ; whereas Apollonius, following Theo-

critus, makes the abortive blow, not the end of a round, but an opportunity for the lighter man, who delivers a decisive blow.

The conclusion that Apollonius is prior to Virgil, is only confirmed by a comparison elsewhere between Theoc. xxii. on the one hand, and Ap. Rhod. ii. and *Aen.* v. on the other; for while Virgil has several reminiscences of Apollonius, his separate reproductions of Theocritus are very few (e.g., *Aen.* v. 453-454; Theoc. xxii. 107), fewer indeed than one would expect as between two long descriptions; Apollonius, on the other hand, reproduces the scheme of Theocritus' fight in all essentials, abridged to suit his purpose.

To be of use the enquiry must cover a reasonably large amount of common ground between the two poets. Enough is, fortunately, available; and as some compensation to the reader who distrusts the utility of this critical method, I shall not need to wander too far in giving what may be almost exhaustive (probably more than exhaustive) available sources for *Culex*, and shall trace to some extent the interplay between *Culex* and authentic Virgilian works on the one side and sources on the other side, particularly in the opening paragraphs.

So that apart from the vexed question of Virgilian authorship these few pages may be of some value to the future editors of *Culex*, if not of Virgil.

Section A.—*Culex* 1-10.

I have been able to obtain no certain results from this section.

Culex 5-10 seems to have affinity with Virg. *Georg.* iii. 37 and 46:

Virg. *Georg.* iii. 37: inuidia infelix Furias amnemque seuerum. . . .
46: mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas. . . .

But that is all there is noteworthy, except that Nemesianus in his *exordium* to the *Cynegeticon* fuses the *exordia* of both *Culex* and *Georg.* iii., as if he took *Culex* for Virgilian.

But, then, what did Nemesianus know of the matter?

Culex 1 recalls Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 1-2:

> prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu
> nostra, nec erubuit siluas habitare Thalea.

Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 1-2 might refer to *Culex;* or, again, the hypothetical forger might have turned those lines to the base uses of deception. Everyone will please himself with his own opinion on such a point. Only the resemblance is not too likely to be accidental, for there are other resemblances between *Culex* and Virg. *Ecl.* vi., which will have to be noticed later.

Culex 10 is possibly a reminiscence of Lucr. iii. 420:

> digna tuo pergam disponere carmina cura (*to young Memmius*).

If so, then there is no reason why we should assume that *Culex* here imitates *Georg.* iii.

Section B.—*Culex* 11-23 [25].

The chief source for this action appears to be Cat. xxxiv.

Cat. xxxiv. :

5 O Latonia, maximi
6 magna progenies Iouis,
9 montium domina ut fores

10 siluarumque uirentium
11 saltuumque reconditorum
19 rustica agricolae bonis

20 tecta frugibus exples . . .

22 sancta nomine, Romulique
23 antiqua ut solita es, bona
24 sospites ope gentem.

Culex:

11 Latonae magnique Iouis decus, aurea proles,
22 aerios nemorum cultus siluasque uirentis:
23 te cultrice uagus saltus feror inter et antra
20 et tu sancta Pales, ad quam uentura recurrit
21 agrestum† bona secura sit cura tenentis.† . . .

But Cat. xxxiv. is not the only source.

Culex 13-16 may be formally modelled on Theoc. i. 123-125:

Culex.

13 . . . siue educat illum
14 Arna Chimaereo Xanthi perfusa liquore,
15 seu decus Asteriae, seu qua Parnasia rupes
16 hinc atque hinc patula praepandit cornua fronte.

Theoc. i. :

123 ὦ Πὰν Πάν, εἴτ' ἐσσὶ κατ' ὤρεα μακρὰ Λυκαίω,
124 εἴτε τύγ' ἀμφιπολεῖς μέγα Μαίναλον, ἔνθ' ἐπὶ νᾶσον
125 τὰν Σικελάν . . .

There is the bare possibility. Though such a form is fairly common (*e.g.*, Ap. Rhod. i. 307-309),

Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 6-7 appears to me to be a reminiscence of Theoc. i. 123-125. So that, to judge

by his familiarity with Theocritean verses imitated by Virgil in *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, the author of *Culex* may be presumed to have had acquaintance with this passage of Theocritus also.

Culex 15 seems to owe "Parnasia rupes" to Theoc. vii. 148, Νύμφαι Καστα̃λίδες, Παρνάσιον αἶπος ἔχοισαι. In *Culex* 17 we have "Castaliae," and in *Culex* 18-19, "sorores Naides."

Of course, there is no definite proof that *Culex* drew the inspiration for these commonplaces from any particular source; only, Theoc. vii. 135 *sqq.* must have been much in the poet's mind, and he uses this very section of Theoc. vii. for *Culex* 142 *sqq.*

There is fusion with Cat. lxiv. 287:

Culex 19: Naides, et celebrate deum plaudente chorea.
Cat. lxiv. 287: Naiasin linquens caris celebranda choreis.

Culex 17 may be compared with Lucr. v. 272 and vi. 638:

Culex 17: Castaliaeque sonans liquido pede labitur unda
Lucr. v. 272 / vi. 638: qua uia secta semel liquido pede detulit undas.

[Hor. *Ep.* xvi. 48 may be safely neglected.]

* * * * *

Turning to similarities in Virgil, we find two *Culex* line-endings in Virg. *Ecl.* vi.—namely, "cornua fronte" (*Culex* 16 and Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 51; also Virg. *Georg.* iv. 299) and "Parnasia rupes" (*Culex* 15 and Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 29).

Already in *Culex* 1, a resemblance to Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 1-2 was remarked.

From "cornua fronte" I can get nothing bearing on the point of priority; but "Parnasia rupes" provides a line of enquiry which will be better pursued in dealing with *Culex* 117-120 below.

A comparison between *Culex* 11-25 and Virg. *Georg.* i. 5-42 may give positive results.

Culex:	*Georg.* i.:
12 Phoebus erit nostri princeps et carminis auctor	5 hinc canere incipiam
20 et tu sancta Pales ad quam uentura recurrit	10 et uos agrestum praesentia numina Fauni
21 agrestum bona . . .	
22 aerios nemorum cultus siluasque uirentis	14 et cultor nemorum. . . .
	16 ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei
23 te cultrice uagus saltus feror inter et antra	17 Pan, ouium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae . . .
24 et tu cui meritis oritur fiducia chartis,	24 tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
25 Octaui uenerande,	25 concilia incertum est . . .
25 meis adlabere coeptis.	40 audacibus adnue coeptis.

It is not easy, having regard to the close interrelation of *Culex* and authentic Virgilian verse elsewhere *passim*, to resist the conclusion that either *Culex* imitates here *Georg.* i. or vice versa.

Georg. i. 16-17 are reminiscences of Theoc. i. 123-125, after which *Culex* 13-16 may be formally modelled.

Now, if Cat. xxxiv. is the original source for *Culex* 11 and 20-23, and if there is an imitative relationship between *Culex* and Virgilian verse here, it is Virgil who is borrowing from *Culex*; for

of (*α*) [*i.e.*, common reproductions] *Culex* and *Georg.* i. together have nothing at all noteworthy, unless it be the common use of "saltus";

of (*β*) *Culex* has *Culex* 11 (= Cat. xxxiv. 5-6), "siluasque uirentis" (= Cat. xxxiv. 10), "sancta, bona," while *Georg.* i. has no private reproductions;

of (*γ*) *Culex* and *Georg.* i. have "agrestum" (for Catullan "agricolae"), and "nemorum" (for Catullan "montium").

These common departures confirm the impression given by structural and verbal similarity, that *Culex* and *Georg.* i. are interrelated.

The separate reproductions show that *Culex* was first in the field.

Further, the abrupt imperative in *Culex* 18-19 must be compared with that in *Georg.* i. 11:

Culex:	*Georg.* i.:
18 quare Pierii laticis decus ite sorores	11 ferte simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae.
19 Naides et celebrate deum plaudente chorea.	

Culex 19 is imitation of Cat. lxiv. 287. *Georg.* i. 11 has nothing whatever to do with Cat. lxiv. 287.

So that, if there is interplay between *Culex* and *Georg.* i. here and between *Culex* and Cat. lxiv. 287 here, *Culex* must be first in the field.

* * * * *

Culex 15-20 and *Georg.* iii. 291-294 present certain features of similarity worth a moment's attention.

Culex :

15 seu qua Parnasia rupes
17 Castaliaeque sonans liquido
pede labitur unda
20 et tu sancta Pales. . . .

Georg. iii. :

291 sed me Parnasi deserta per
ardua dulcis
292 raptat amor ; iuuat ire iugis,
qua nulla priorum
293 Castaliam molli deuertitur
orbita cliuo.
294 nunc, ueneranda Pales, . . .

Slight as they are, these similarities in the commonplace poetic stock gain importance from the fact that they are in *Georg.* iii. here all departures from the main inspiration present to Virgil—namely, Lucr. i. 926-930 :

> auia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
> trita solo : iuuat integros accedere fontis
> atque haurire, iuuatque nouos decerpere flores
> insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
> unde prius nulli uelarint tempora musae.

Culex here has no trace of Lucr. i. 926-930.

Virgil and Lucretius do not make up *Culex*, which needs Catullus to complete itself. But *Culex* and Lucretius make up Virgil.

Further, *Culex* 17 and *Georg.* iii. 293 look to be issued from the same rhythmical mint.

Both lines progress by way of the soft and musical L motive.

Culex 17 gets the rhythm and L motive from the Lucretian " semel liquido pede detulit undas." If so, and if there is interplay between *Culex* and *Georg.* iii. here, the borrower is likely to be Virgil, who has nothing of " liquido pede."

Section C.—*Culex* 24-26 and 37-41.

In this section *Culex*, a sort of fairy-tale written for a small boy, is perhaps leaning on the pæderastic poems of Theocritus :

Culex 37-38 : haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabimus, haec tibi restet
gloria perpetuum lucens mansura per aeuum.
Theoc. xii. 10-11 : εἴθ' ὁμαλοὶ πνεύσειαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν Ἔρωτες
νῶϊν, ἐπεσσομένοις δὲ γενοίμεθα πᾶσιν ἀοιδή.
Culex 39-41 : et tibi sede pia maneat locus, et tibi sospes
debita felicis memoretur uita per annos
grata bonis lucens.
Theoc. xxvi. 30 : αὐτὸς δ' εὐαγέοιμι καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ἄδοιμι.
32 : εὐσεβέων παίδεσσι τὰ λώϊα, δυσσεβέων δ' οὔ.

Below it will be suggested that *Culex* 380-383 is modelled on Theoc. xxix. (Παιδικά) 35-40.

It must be remarked that "uenerande" (*Culex* 25) is by no means a term of respect from inferior to superior (e.g., *Aen.* ix. 276).

"Sancte puer" (*Culex* 26 and 37) may be explained far less prosaically than as a reference to the official priesthood, when we remember that *Culex* is constantly beset by memories of Cat. lxiv.

Catullus (lxiv. 95 : "sancte puer, curis hominum qui gaudia misces") so addresses Cupid.

The obvious propriety of the compliment in *Culex* would be further increased if the Octavius happened to be the future Augustus.

Whether or no the sources suggested for this section of *Culex* are anywhere near the mark, *Culex* is independent of Virgil.

In passing it is worth while to notice the interplay in—

Culex 25: meis adlabere coeptis.
Virg. *Georg.* i. 40: da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis.
Virg. *Aen.* iii. 89: da pater augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.
Virg. *Aen.* ix. 625: Iuppiter omnipotens, audacibus adnue coeptis.

Above I tried to show that Virg. *Georg.* i. 5-42 is related to *Culex* 11-25.

Virg. *Aen.* iii. 89 is reminiscently related to Virg. *Georg.* i. 40, and approaches *Culex* 25 with "inlabere."

Virg. *Aen.* ix. 625 is spoken by Ascanius in his first battle-essay. It is evidently reproduced from Virg. *Georg.* i. 40, related to *Culex* 25.

Further, Virg. *Aen.* ix. 626-627 is a reproduction of Virg. *Georg.* iii. 21-22; and the exordium to Virg. *Georg.* iii. (vv. 3-8) is related to *Culex* 26-36 (*see below*).

Section D.—*Culex* 26-36.

This contrast between the epic poet, chronicler of war and suffering, and the pastoral poet seems to be an echo of Moschus iii. 78-85, where Moschus contrasts Homer and Bion:

Moschus iii. 78 χῶ μὲν Τυνδαρέοιο καλὰν ἄεισε θύγατρα
79 καὶ Θέτιδος μέγαν υἱα καὶ Ἀτρεΐδαν Μενέλαον·
80 κεῖνος δ' οὐ πολέμους, οὐ δάκρυα, Πᾶνα δ' ἔμελπε,
81 καὶ βούτας ἐλίγαινε καὶ ἀείδων ἐνόμευε
82 καὶ σύριγγας ἔτευχε καὶ ἀδέα πόρτιν ἄμελγε
83 καὶ παίδων ἐδίδασκε φιλήματα καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα
84 ἔτρεφεν ἐν κόλποισι καὶ ἤρεθε τὰν Ἀφροδίταν.

What brings the attention of the author of *Culex* to these lines of Moschus is, I should guess, vv. 83-84.

It cannot be said that he has made a success of his imitation.

Culex 26 ("namque canit non pagina bellum") reproduces Moschus iii. 80 with the wretched addition of "pagina." In place of the reticent artistry which is content with a graceful reference to the *Iliad*, we are in *Culex* presented with a list of human and semiferous tragedies which, suspending the narrative march, fail to lend ornamental variety.

Considering that the author of *Culex* is Bion over again to himself, and is therefore faced with the simplest task, one might have expected him to do better.

In this business of amplification the poet must, of course, depart from Moschus iii.

Culex 31 ("nec perfossus Athos") may be suggested by Cat. lxvi. 45-46 ("cum Medi peperere nouum mare cumque iuuentus | per medium classi barbara nauit Athon").

Certainly *Culex* 33-34 is a deliberate variation of Lucr. iii. 833-834:

Culex 33-34:
non Hellespontus pedibus pulsatus equorum,
Graecia cum timuit uenientis undique Persas.

Lucr. iii. 833-834:
ad confligendum uenientibus undique Poenis,
omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu. . . .

To turn to Virgilian similarities, I have already suggested that Virg. *Georg.* iii. 21 and 22 is related to *Culex* 25 indirectly, and Virg. *Georg.* iii. 37-48 to *Culex* 5-10 directly.

If so, there is no great abuse of probabilities in

presuming an imitative relationship between *Culex* 26-36 and Virg. *Georg.* iii. 1-8 :

1 te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus
2 pastor ab Amphryso, uos, siluae amnesque Lycaei.
3 cetera, quae uacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
4 omnia iam uolgata. quis aut Eurysthea durum
5 aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras ?
6 cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos
7 Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno,
8 acer equis ?

Virgil's "omnia iam uolgata" is another way of putting what is expressed by *Culex's* "non . . . quaerent iam sera uolumine famam." Only different examples of what is "stale" have been selected with a different intention.

If *Culex* 26-36 imitates Moschus (and Lucretius), and if there is imitative relationship between *Culex* and Virg. *Georg.* iii. 1-8, Virgil must be regarded as the imitator, since his lines do not approach Moschus (or Lucretius) at all, whilst the whole initial impetus to *Culex* 26-36 is given by Moschus iii.

At least we can conclude that *Culex* is independent of Virgil here.

Section E.—*Culex* 42-57 and 98.

In this section the poet is, I think, following in the footsteps of Lucr. ii. and v. There is considerable redundancy, possibly due to the fact that the imitator attempts to reproduce in one scene too many of the features which have caught his eye in several similar pictures by his predecessor :

Lucr. ii. 317 nam saepe in colli tondentes pabula laeta
318 lanigerae reptant pecudes quo quamque uocantes
319 inuitant herbae gemmantes rore recenti.
} Cf. *Culex* 45-50.

661 saepe itaque ex uno tondentes gramina campo
662 lanigerae pecudes et equorum duellica proles
663 buceriaeque greges eodem sub tegmine caeli
664 ex unoque sitim sedantes flumine aquai . . .

Lucr. v. 955 sed nemora atque cauos montis siluasque colebant
956 et frutices inter condebant squalida membra
957 uerbera uentorum uitare imbrisque coacti.
} Cf. *Culex* 48-51 and 56.

783 principio genus herbarum uiridemque nitorem
784 terra dedit circum collis camposque per omnis,
785 florida fulserunt uiridanti prata colore.

Doubtless Theocritus has contributed in a general way to urge the picture here presented; but, except in one instance noted later, no particular Theocritean lines can with any certainty be said to have found their echo in *Culex*.

However, it may not be amiss to compare

(i.) *Culex* 50 and 53 with Theoc. viii. 67-68:

ταὶ δ' ὄιες, μηδ' ὕμμες ὀκνεῖθ' ἁπαλᾶς κορέσασθαι
ποίας,

and

(ii.) *Culex* 48 and 49 and 52-56 with Theoc. v. 128-129:

ταὶ μὲν ἐμαὶ κύτισόν τε καὶ αἴγιλον αἶγες ἔδοντι
καὶ σχῖνον πατέοντι καὶ ἐν κομάροισι κέονται,

and with

Theoc. ix. 4:

χοῖ μὲν ἀμᾷ βόσκοιντο καὶ ἐν φύλλοισι πλᾶνῶντο (i.e., βόες).

These and similar Theocritean passages may safely be assumed to be present more or less vividly to the eye of any Roman poet of the Virgilian pastoral school.

* * * * *

Turning to Virgilian similarities, Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 14-16 and Virg. *Georg.* iii. may give us some results of a positive character to compensate for the tedium of examination:

Culex:	Virg. *Ecl.* viii.:
42 igneus aetherias iam sol penetrarat in arces	14 frigida uix caelo noctis decesserat umbra,
43 candidaque aurato quatiebat lumina curru,	15 cum ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba
44 crinibus et roseis tenebras Aurora fugarat:	
45 propulit e stabulis ad pabula laeta capellas	
46 pastor . . .	
98 talibus in studiis baculo dum nixus apricas	16 incumbens tereti Damon sic coepit oliuae
99 pastor agit curas . . .	

Culex and Virg. *Ecl.* viii. here envisage the same scene—the herdsman sings as he leans on his staff.

Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 16 is undoubtedly a reproduction of Theoc. vii. 18-19: *ροικὰν δ' ἔχεν ἀγριελαίω | δεξιτερᾷ κορύναν.* So, too, is *Culex* 98, for anything one can say to the contrary, if *Culex* uses Theocritus directly elsewhere.

Ecl. viii. 16 takes over *ἀγριελαίω* (="oliuae"), omitting *κορύναν*. *Culex* 98 takes over *κορύναν* (="baculo"), omitting *ἀγριελαίω*. Both omit *ροικάν*. Both change the Theocritean *ἔχεν* (as they must change; for with both the herdsman is standing, whilst in Theocritus he is walking), *Culex* to "nixus" and Virg. *Ecl.* viii. to "incumbens."

Interrelation between *Culex* and Virg. *Ecl.* viii. here appears distinctly possible.

Now, Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 15 is repeated verbatim in Virg. *Georg.* iii. 326, "et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba," in the course of a remarkably beautiful description of the herdsman's summer day.

This description (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 322-338) is, as it stands, the poetic amplification of Varro, *R.R.* II. ii. Varro supplies the "skeleton." Virgil clothes the dry bones with flesh and blood and motion. *Culex* also appears to be aware of Varro's treatise on goats (cf. *Culex* 42-57 with Varro, *R.R.* II.).

Virg. *Georg.* iii. 322-338 gives a complete summary of the pastoral action in *Culex*, drawing for the ornamental from the same sources as *Culex:*

Virg. *Georg.* iii.:

322 at uero zephyris cum laeta uocantibus aestas
323 in saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittet,
324 Luciferi primo cum sidere frigida rura
325 carpamus, dum mane nouum, dum gramina canent,
326 et ros in tenera pecori gratissimus herba.

[So in *Culex* 42-57 the herdsman drives his beasts at dawn to pasture.]

327 inde ubi quarta sitim caeli collegerit hora
328 et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae,
329 ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo
330 currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam;
331 aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere uallem,
332 sicubi magna Iouis antiquo robore quercus
333 ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum
334 ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra.

[So at midday in *Culex* the herdsman drives his beasts to water and the shade (*Culex* 101-108). In *Culex*, too, there is the cicala, oak, and ilex, and sacred grove.]

335 tum tenuis dare rursus aquas et pascere rursus
336 solis ad occasum, cum frigidus aera uesper
337 temperat, et saltus reficit iam roscida luna,
338 litoraque alcyonen resonant, acalanthida dumi.

[So *Culex* 202-205, *Culex* 204 recalling Virg. *Ecl.* ii. 67.]

Virg. *Georg.* iii. 328 and 338 are reminiscence from Theoc. vii. 138-142. Theoc. vii. 135-143 is imitated by *Culex* 146-153 (*see below*).

The enquiry must be taken a step further and complete the cycle of interrelation between *Culex* and Virg. *Georg.* iii. here.

Georg. iii. 334, "ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra," is a variation of *Georg.* iii. 145, "et saxea procubet umbra" (reproducing πετραίη σκίη of Hesiod, *Op.* 589).

Hesiod, *Op.* 582-599, is imitated by Theoc. vii. 128-157, imitated by both *Georg.* iii. 322-338 and *Culex* 146-153.

Georg. iii. 143-145 again gives the picture given by *Culex* 104-106 (cf. *Georg.* iii. 327-334).

Georg. iii. 143-156 is not doubtfully (*see below*) related to *Culex* 175-179, one or other passage being written in the shadow of the other.

What are we to deduce from this interrelation?

Postponing a decision for the moment, we can state the case as an unbroken circle: Where *Culex* is related to Virg. *Ecl.* vi., using Theoc. vii., *Culex* uses Theoc. vii., which uses Hesiod, *Op.* 582-589, which is used by Virg. *Georg.* iii. 143-156, which is related to *Georg.* iii. 322-328 (itself related to

Theoc. vii. and *Culex* 42-153) and also to *Culex* 175-179.

Before closing the discussion of this section of *Culex*, it remains to consider a passage in Virg. *Ecl.* i., which affords a chance on its own merits of enabling us to come to a clear decision both as to priority of *Culex* as against Virgilian authentic works and as to authorship:

Virg. *Ecl.* i.:

74 ite meae felix quondam pecus, ite, capellae.
75 non ego uos posthac uiridi proiectus in antro
76 dumosa pendere procul de rupe uidebo.
77 carmina nulla canam; non me pascente, capellae,
78 florentem cytisum et salices carpetis amaras.
79 hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem
80 fronde super uiridi; sunt nobis mitia poma,
81 castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis;
82 et iam summa procul uillarum culmina fumant,
83 maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.

The influences at work on Virgil here are numerous. Among them may be

Dirae 91-92: tardius a, miserae descendite monte capellae.
mollia non iterum carpetis pabula nota;

and

Cat. lxv. 9-12: adloquar, audiero nunquam . . . loquentem
nunquam ego te, uita frater amabilior,
aspiciam posthac; at certe semper amabo,
semper maesta tua carmina morte canam.

[*Dirae* 102-103 ("quamuis ignis eris," etc.) appear to be related to Cat. lxv. 9-12.]

"Florentem cytisum" (Virg. *Ecl.* i. 78) recurs in Virg. *Ecl.* ii. 64, which translates Theoc. x. 30, *ἁ αἰξ τὸν κύτισον . . . διώκει.* The epithet "florentem" is added to Theocritus by Virgil.

Virg. *Ecl.* i. 79-81 is a medley of Theoc. xi. 44 (*ἄδιον ἐν τὠντρῳ παρ' ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξεῖς*) and Theoc. xi. 45 (*ἐντὶ . . . ἐντὶ* = "sunt" of Virg. *Ecl.* i. 80) and Theoc. xi. 20 (*πακτᾶς* = "pressi copia lactis" of Virg. *Ecl.* i. 81 through Theoc. xi. 35-36, *γάλα πίνω· τυρὸς δ' οὐ λείπει*) and Theoc. vii. 133-134 (*ἀδείας σχοίνοιο κ.τ.λ.*) and Theoc. vii. 144-145 (*ὄχναι μὲν πὰρ ποσσί κ.τ.λ.*). Of course it is all reminiscence, and reminiscence not only of Theocritus, but of older Theocritean imitations carried out by the poet.

Whether *Copa* has contributed to Virg. *Ecl.* i. 79-81 is a question not to be argued out here. Fortunately neither *Dirae* nor *Copa* matter very much to this discussion.

Now, in Virg. *Ecl.* i. 77, the words "carmina nulla canam," spoken by Meliboeus, refer to Meliboeus' musical activities in the past—activities which, he complains, will henceforth cease.

They occur sandwiched between reminiscences or anticipations of *Dirae* (Virg. *Ecl.* i. 64-72 and 74) and of Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 50 (Virg. *Ecl.* i. 73) and the words "non ego uos posthac uiridi proiectus in antro | dumosa pendere procul de rupe uidebo" on the one side and on the other side a reminiscence or anticipation of Virg. *Ecl.* ii. 64 (Virg. *Ecl.* i. 78).

Who is so simple as to suppose that "carmina nulla canam" fulfils no other function in that context than to convey the surface meaning of the words?

We must, instead, suspect that this is Meliboeus'

way of referring to particular poems with which his name is connected, presumably the poet's own.

It is the signpost pointing the way for the reader, and in the classical, conventional style of such guidance. It is Virgil's own method of self-recommendation as illustrated most excellently by Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 19-20. There Virgil, in writing "quis caneret Nymphas? quis humum florentibus herbis | spargeret aut uiridi fontes induceret umbra?" deliberately refers to Virg. *Ecl.* v. 40, "spargite humum foliis, inducite fontibus umbras," giving a warning of his intention to the reader with "quis caneret?"—which is another way of saying "carmina nulla canam" extra-dramatically.

So, too, Prop. II. (III.) xxxiv. c., in referring to particular Virgilian poems, selects a name, phrase, or scene from the poem to which it is desired to make reference, leaving a hint in the context that such reference is to be understood in his intention.

If Virgil, in Virg. *Ecl.* i. 75-76, is recalling to the reader's memory a poem of his own, what poem is that likely to be? What scene do the lines recall? Where do we have the goats exploring rocky ledges for their food, the musical goatherd watching them?

Nowhere else, I believe, amongst possible Virgilian poems but in *Culex;* and a comparison between Virg. *Ecl.* i. here and *Culex* appears to indicate that Virgil, in Virg. *Ecl.* i., was able with the greatest economy of words to suggest a good part of the action of *Culex.*

Virg. *Ecl.* i. :

75 non ego uos posthac *uiridi proiectus in antro*
76 *dumosa pendere procul de rupe uidebo.*
78 *salices carpetis* amaras.

Culex :

48 iam siluis *dumisque* uagae . . .
51 scrupea desertis *haerebant* ad caua ripis *rupes Codd* . . .
54 haec *suspensa* rapit *carpente* cacumina morsu
55 uel *salicis* lentae . . :
109 ut procul aspexit luco residere *uirenti* . . .
113 *requieuit in antro* . . .
157 pastor ut ad fontem densa requieuit in umbra
158 mitem concepit *proiectus* membra soporem.

The condensation of so large a portion of the pastoral matter in *Culex* into so small a space has not been carried out with strict accuracy and fidelity in Virg. *Ecl.* i. here.

When the goatherd is "proiectus in antro," he is not, in *Culex*, any longer watching his goats on the crags, as he is in Virg. *Ecl.* i.; and, of course also, when he is "densa in umbra proiectus" in *Culex* (*i.e.*, "in luco uirenti"—*i.e.*, in the place where the "antrum" is) he has retired to sleep.

Culex is more practical than Virgil in Virg. *Ecl.* i., for it is not clear how the goatherd in Virg. *Ecl.* i. is to watch his goats when he is himself "uiridi proiectus in antro."

But the differences are readily referable to the exigencies of condensation.

Virgil in Virg. *Ecl.* i. has not the space, as he has too good sense, to break up the reference into two distinct scenes.

The suspicion must be strong that Virgil does

refer amongst other poems to *Culex*, just as in Virg. *Ecl.* ix., where presumably the same subject is under treatment—viz., the loss and restoration of his Mantuan property—he recalls his past poetical achievements to the notice of his patrons or protectors.

Section F.—*Culex* 58-97.

In this section of the *Culex*, most important to this enquiry and within the limits natural to argumentation of the kind apparently decisive in favour of Virgilian authorship for *Culex*, the poet writes under the strong influence of Lucretius, and, to a less extent, of Cat. lxiv.

The subject is, briefly, the contrast between honest rustic simplicity and the morally dubious luxury in which the poet not unnaturally sees the mainspring of criminal ambitions.

The countryman's life, he says, is the quiet, desirable Epicurean life—not so much that which Lucretius assigns to the gods or to those few men who have laid hold of Epicurean philosophy and learned to live in Epicurean principles, as that life which primitive man enjoyed, eating and singing and sleeping under easy conditions.

Thoroughly familiar with Lucretian verse, the author of *Culex* has employed a considerable number of those passages in the older poet which bear upon the subject. One might almost believe that he had assembled, not only in mind, but on paper side by side, all such passages available, and from the collec-

tion made his own selection, rewriting and mixing with a dash of Catullus.

The broad imitative plan is to combine certain sections of Lucr. ii. and Lucr. v.

Culex :	Lucretius :
58 o bona pastoris, si quis non pauperis usum	v. 1194 o genus infelix humanum . . . ii. 14 o miseras hominum mentes . . .

[*Culex* approaches v. 1194 rather than ii. 14, but by way of ii. 14 probably.]

58 si quis non pauperis usum 59 mente prius docta fastidiat	ii. 7 sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere 8 edita doctrina sapientum templa serena, 9 despicere unde queas alios passimque uidere 10 errare atque uiam palantis quaerere uitae.

[Lucretius' glorification of the philosopher carries with it a contempt of simple men, against which the author of *Culex* seems to contend, fighting for his rustic ideal. Hence "si quis . . . mente prius docta" refers directly to Lucretius.]

59 et probet illi 60 somnia luxuriae spretis incognita curis, 61 quae lacerant auidas † inimico pectore † mentes	ii. 12 noctes atque dies niti praestante labore 13 ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri 19 cura semota metuque
62 . . . 68 si non . . . at	ii. 24 . . . 29 si non . . . (cum) tamen v. 18 at (bene non poterat sine puro pectore uiui)

Culex

Culex:

62 si non Assyrio feruent bis lauta colore
63 Attalicis opibus data uellera, si nitor auri
64 sub laqueare domus animum non angit auarum,
65 picturaeque decus, lapidum nec fulgor in ulla
66 cognitus utilitate manet, nec pocula Graium
67 Alconis referunt Boethique toreuma, nec Indi
68 conchea baca maris pretio est;

Lucretius:

ii. 24 si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes
25 lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,
26 lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,
27 nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet,
28 nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque tecta,
35 textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti
36 iacteris, quam si in plebeia ueste cubandum est.
37 quapropter quoniam nil nostro in corpore gazae
38 proficiunt . . .
51 . . . neque fulgorem reuerentur ab auro
52 nec clarum uestis splendorem purpureai.

Catullus lxiv.:

43 ipsius at sedes quacumque opulenta recessit
44 regia fulgenti splendent auro atque argento.
45 candet ebur soliis, collucent pocula mensae,
46 tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza.
47 puluinar uero diuae geniale locatur
48 sedibus in mediis, Indo quod dente politum
49 tincta tegit roseo conchyli purpura fuco.

[Cat. lxiv. 43 *sqq.* quite possibly imitates Lucr. ii. 24 *sqq.*

The *Culex* lines are in the first instance inspired by Lucretius; but the poet fills in his picture with "pocula," "toreuma," "conchea baca," "Indi" (*inter alia*), which are suggested to him by the Catullan "pocula," "puluinar," "conchyli," "Indo." His borrowings from Cat. lxiv. are in sum over the whole *Culex* too many to leave us in any doubt that there is any direct imitation of Catullus here.]

Culex:	Lucretius:
68 at pectore puro	v. 18 at bene non poterat sine puro pectore uiui ii. 45 mortisque timores 46 tum uacuum pectus linquunt curaque solutum
69 saepe super tenero prosternit gramine corpus	ii. 29 cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli v. 1392 saepe itaque inter se prostrati in gramine molli

[Lucr. v. 1393 *sqq.* repeat verbatim Lucr. ii. 30 *sqq.* No doubt the poet of *Culex* is aware of this; and hence the "saepe" derived from Lucr. v. 1392.]

70 florida cum tellus gemmantis picta per herbas	ii. 32 praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni 33 tempora conspergunt uiridantis floribus herbas v. 1395 praesertim cum tempestas ridebat et anni 1396 tempora pingebant uiridantis floribus herbas ii. 319 inuitant herbae gemmantes rore recenti

Culex :

71 uere notat dubiis distincta coloribus arua

Cat. lxiv. :

90 auraue distinctos educit uerna colores

Lucretius :

72 atque illum, calamo laetum recanente palustri,

v. 1382 et zephyri caua per calamorum sibila primum

1383 agrestis docuere cauas inflare cicutas.

[Lucr. v. 1379 *sqq.* used again in *Culex* 146 *sqq.*]

73 otiaque inuidiae degentem fraude remota

74 pollentemque sibi

v. 1387 per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia

ii. 647 immortali aeuo summa cum pace fruatur

648 semota ab nostris rebus seiunctaque longe ;

649 nam priuata dolore omni, priuata periclis,

650 ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indiga nostri, . . .

74 uiridi cum palmite lucens

75 Tmolia pampineo subter coma uelut amictu

v. 1399 tum caput atque umeros plexis redimire coronis

1400 floribus et foliis . . .

79 quis magis optato queat esse beatior aeuo

v. 1 quis potis est dignum pollenti pectore carmen

[The opening of a new paragraph for *Culex*, as for Lucretius. Possibly *Culex* 74, "pollentemque sibi," suggested to the author of *Culex* the recollection also of Lucr. v. 1.]

80 quam qui mente procul pura sensuque probando

ii. 18 mente fruatur

19 iucundo sensu cura semota metuque

81 non auidas agnouit opes

ii. 13 } ad summas emergere
iii. 63 } opes

Culex:	Lucretius:
81 nec tristia bella	ii. 1 suaue mari magno turbantibus aequora uentis
82 nec funesta timet ualidae certamina classis	5 suaue etiam belli certamina magna tueri
	40 si non forte tuas legiones per loca campi
	41 feruere cum uideas belli simulacra cientis
	47 feruere cum uideas classem lateque uagari
	49 nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela
83 non, spoliis dum sancta deum fulgentibus ornet	v. 1430 ergo hominum genus incassum frustraque laborat
84 templa nec euectus finem transcendat habendi	1431 semper et in curis consumit inanibus aeuum,
	1432 nimirum quia non cognouit quae sit habendi
	1433 finis
	iii. 59 denique auarities et honorum caeca cupido
	60 quae miseros homines cogunt transcendere fines
85 aduersum saeuis ultro caput hostibus offert	iii. 1041 sponte sua leto caput obuius optulit ipse

[The end of the philosopher in Lucretius is the end of the ambitious soldier in *Culex*. Perhaps the poet is making a "point" against Lucretius once more.]

86 illi falce deus colitur non arte politus,	Cat. lxiv. 48 Indo quod dente politum
87 ille colit lucos, illi Panchaia tura	Lucr. ii. 417 Panchaeos . . . odores
88 floribus agrestes herbae uariantibus addunt	Lucr. v. 1396 tempora pingebant uiridantis floribus herbas

Culex:

89 illi dulcis adest requies et pura uoluptas
90 libera simplicibus curis; huc imminet, omnis
91 derigit huc sensus, haec cura est subdita cordi
92 quolibet in requiem uictu ut contentus abundet

Lucretius:

v. 1390 haec animos ollis mulcebant atque iuuabant
1391 cum satiate cibi; nam tum haec sunt omnia cordi.
1392 saepe itaque inter se prostrati in gramine molli . . .
1394 non magnis opibus iucunde corpora habebant

93 iucundoque liget languentia corpora somno

iv. 951 debile fit corpus, languescunt omnia membra . . .
955 haec eadem cibus in uenas dum diditur omnis, . . .
957 efficit. et multo sopor ille grauissimus exstat
958 quem satur aut lassus capias, quia plurima tum se
959 corpora conturbant magno contusa labore.

[A heavy meal is the prelude to sound sleep. This "corpora" in *Culex* no more stands for "corpus" than does this "corpora" in Lucr. iv. 959. It is no poetic plural, but signifies Lucretian "corpora" (cf. *Culex* 206, where again "corpora" is used in the same context). "Atoms" as a translation would give an unfortunate impression, since the word is for us a mere scientific technical term without poetic associations. Lucretius was aware of that fact himself. "Substance" might serve.]

Culex:

94 o pecudes, o Panes et o gratissima tempe
- Theoc. iv. 63 Πάνεσσι
- Cat. lxiv. 35 Phthiotica tempe
- 285 uiridantia Tempe

Lucretius:

95 quarum non diuite cultu

96 aemulus Ascraeo pastorum quisque poetae

97 securam placido traducit pectore uitam
- v. 1122 et placidam possent opulenti degere uitam
- ii. 1093 nam pro sancta deum tranquilla pectora pace
- 1094 quae placidum degunt aeuum uitamque serenam.

To appreciate the full extent of *Culex's* debt to Lucretius in this section it is necessary to carry the mind over the whole of the Lucretian poem, and to discover how the author of *Culex* has followed up paths radiating out from Lucr. ii. 1-61 over the rest of the six books. Here I cannot attempt to trace internal Lucretian relationships (*e.g.*, the connexion between Lucr. ii. 1-61 and Lucr. v. 1379-1435), and in consequence must ask the reader to turn his memory or his eye again all round those Lucretian lines which are quoted as sources for *Culex*.

That *Culex's* vocabulary is fairly described as Lucretian will not, I imagine, be contested, or that *Culex* imitates Lucretius in a somewhat naïve fashion, being led on from idea to idea as the Lucretian sequence dictates, and so succumbing to some extent to casual inspiration.

There is much redundant matter between the two halves of this rhapsody—to the poet's discredit, unless the two halves are simply alternatives.

He has attempted to illuminate Lucretius, chiefly by the device of showy proper names.

He has introduced some metrical variety, compensating little for the diminution in dignity and vigour which Lucretius has suffered at his hands.

The kind of "simple life" which he exalts has rather too much milk and water in it to command the respect of the adult. Virgil knew better than to attempt such a thankless task in *Georg.* ii.

To the choice of theme, however, all the faults are not referable. The poet stands too close to his model to see the broad governing lines. He imitates feature by feature.

* * * * *

We may now pass on to compare *Culex* and Virg. *Georg.* ii. 458-540 in those points where they are clearly related to one another and to Lucretius and Catullus.

That Virgil in *Georg.* ii. 458-540 imitates Lucretius directly is too evident to need any proof here. Further, it is plain that either *Culex* imitates Virg. *Georg.* ii. or that Virg. *Georg.* ii. imitates *Culex*, for otherwise their common departures from Lucretius are inexplicable. I shall attempt to show that Virgil's separate departures are, in comparison with those of *Culex*, so many and of such a character that *Culex* must be held to be independent of Virgil, and, consequently, that Virgil must be held to have known and used *Culex*.

Lucretius ii. :

14 o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca !
15 qualibus in tenebris uitae quantisque periclis
16 degitur hoc aeui quodcumque est ! nonne uidere
17 nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut qui
18 corpore seiunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur
19 iucundo sensu cura semota metuque ?
20 ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca uidemus
21 esse opus omnino, quae demant cumque dolorem.
22 delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint
23 gratius interdum neque natura ipsa requirit,
24 si non . . .

Culex :

58 o bona pastoris, si quis non pauperis usum
59 mente prius docta fastidiat, et probet illi
60 somnia luxuriae spretis incognita curis,
61 quae lacerant auidas inimico pectore mentes.
62 si non . . .

Virg. *Georg.* ii. :

458 o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
459 agricolas, quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
460 fundit humo facilem uictum iustissima tellus.
461 si non . . .

[Common departures are: (i.) The change from "o miseras" to "o bona" and "o fortunatos"; (ii.) the addition of the *si*-clause ("si quis non . . . sua si bona . . ."); (iii.) the limitation to rural life.

Culex has private reproductions—"mente," "mentes," "curis," "pectore"—of which, however, nothing decisive is to be expected.]

Lucr. ii. :

24 si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes
25 lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,
26 lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,
27 nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet,

Culex :

62 si non Assyrio feruent bis lauta colore
63 Attalicis opibus data uellera, si nitor auri
64 sub laqueare domus animum non angit auarum,
65 picturaeque decus, lapidum nec fulgor in ulla

Lucr. ii. :

28 nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque tecta, . . .
35 textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti
36 iacteris, quam si in plebeia ueste cubandum est.
37 quapropter quoniam nil nostro in corpore gazae
38 proficiunt. . . .
51 neque fulgorem reuerentur ab auro
52 nec clarum uestis splendorem purpureai. . . .

Cat. lxiv. :

43 ipsius at sedes quacumque opulenta recessit
44 regia fulgenti splendent auro atque argento.
45 candet ebur soliis, collucent pocula mensae,
46 tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza.
47 puluinar uero diuae geniale locatur
48 sedibus in mediis, Indo quod dente politum
49 tincta tegit roseo conchyli purpura fuco.

Culex :

66 cognitus utilitate manet, nec pocula Graium
67 Alconis referunt Boethique toreuma, nec Indi
68 conchea baca maris pretio est ; at . . .

Virg. *Georg.* ii. :

461 si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
462 mane salutantum totis uomit aedibus undam,
463 nec uarios inhiant pulchra testudine postes
464 inlusasque auro uestes Ephyreiaque aera,
465 alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana ueneno
466 nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus oliui :
467 at . . .

[Compared with Lucretius, both *Culex* and *Georg.* ii. make the same change from "ostro" to "Assyrio colore" (*Culex*) and "Assyrio ueneno" (*Georg.* ii.). Common reproductions need not be specified.

Both *Culex* and *Georg.* ii. have "domus" and "auro," as in the Lucretian line "nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet." *Culex* 63-64 has the two words in one phrase, and in exactly similar context

to Lucretius. In *Georg.* ii. 461-464 the two words occur separately at some distance.

Culex has "picturae" and "laqueare," corresponding to Lucretian "picturis" and "laqueata."

Georg. ii. 461-464 has not anything to correspond verbally: "inlusasque auro uestes" corresponding in sense only to Lucretius' "textilibus si in picturis." Yet "uestes" is Lucretian, and not present in *Culex*.

As for Cat. lxiv. 43-49, *Georg.* ii. does not approach this *Culex* source except in "fucatur," whereas *Culex* has many resemblances already indicated above.

Thus we may conclude:

(i.) *Culex* is much more faithful to Lucretius and Catullus than is *Georg.* ii.

(ii.) *Culex* and *Georg.* ii. both use Lucretius directly; *Culex* uses Catullus directly.

(iii.) Nowhere, except in one case, "Assyrio," does *Culex* need *Georg.* ii. to borrow from. Lucretius and Catullus supply all ideas else.]

Lucretius:

ii. 29 cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
v. 1392 saepe itaque inter se prostrati in gramine molli
ii. 30 propter aquae riuum sub ramis arboris altae

Culex:

68 at pectore puro
69 saepe super tenero prosternit gramine corpus

Virg. *Georg.* ii.:

467 at secura quies et nescia fallere uita
468 diues opum uariarum, at latis otia fundis,
469 speluncae uiuique lacus, at frigida tempe,
470 mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni
471 non absunt.

[The Lucretian "si non . . . tamen" has become in both *Culex* and *Georg.* ii. "si non . . . at."

Culex, with "at . . . prosternit gramine," follows slavishly the Lucretian "tamen . . . prostrati in gramine," and betrays his dependence on Lucretius further by "saepe."

Georg. ii. with "at . . . mollesque sub arbore somni," departs from the Lucretian order.

Virgil handles the Lucretian matter more freely. Yet he has his mind on Lucr. ii. 29-30, as "molli" and "arbore" show.]

ii. 29 tamen
v. 18 at . . . pectore puro

Culex:
68 at pectore puro . . .
Virg. *Georg.* ii.:
467 at secura quies . . .

[This "at" in *Culex* and *Georg.* ii. is a common departure from Lucretius' "tamen."

That *Culex* made the change consciously and deliberately is plain enough from a comparison between *Culex* 68-69 and Lucr. ii. 29. Lucr. v. is a main source for *Culex* (and not for *Georg.* ii.) in this section. A comparison between *Culex* 68 and Lucr. v. 18 explains how the change can easily have originated.

But Virgil has not "pectore puro," and there is no apparent influence to dictate the change from "tamen" to "at" in *Georg.* ii. 467. It is not until *Georg.* ii. 470 that Virgil reproduces (with variation) Lucr. ii. 29-30.

Is it pure chance that *Culex* has "at pectore puro"? If so, we should have to suppose that it was an

accident that *Culex*, borrowing from *Georg.* ii., and more faithful to Lucr. ii. 29 than *Georg.* ii., reproduces its own main source.

Is it not more reasonable to conclude that Virgil "borrowed" from *Culex*, using Lucretius side by side with *Culex?*]

Cat. lxiv.:
35 Phthiotica tempe
285 uiridantia Tempe

Culex:
94 gratissima tempe

Virg. *Georg.* ii.:
469 frigida tempe

[The probability that Cat. lxiv. suggested the *Culex* "tempe" is considerable, owing to the general influence of the Catullan poem on *Culex*, not only in this section, but throughout.]

Lucr. ii.:
40 si non forte tuas legionis per loca campi
41 feruere cum uideas belli simulacra cientis
47 feruere cum uideas classem lateque uagari
49 nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela
50 audacterque inter reges rerumque potentes
51 uersantur neque fulgorem reuerentur ab auro
52 nec clarum uestis splendorem purpureai

Culex:
81 non auidas agnouit opes nec tristia bella
82 nec funesta timet ualidae certamina classis

Virg. *Georg.* ii.:
495 illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
496 flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres
503 sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
504 in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum

[Clearly both Virgil and the author of *Culex* have in mind alike Lucr. ii. 40-52.

Culex has "nec timet," corresponding to Lucr. ii. 49, "nec metuunt." *Georg.* ii. 495-496 has "non flexit."

Culex 81-82 has "bella" in contrast with "classis"—*i.e.*, land and sea fighting contrasted in the simplest possible fashion, as in Lucr. ii. 41-47.

(*Culex's* "ualidae certamina belli" may be compared with Lucr. ii. 5, "belli certamina magna.")

Georg. ii. 503-504 gives the contrast, but with added ornamentation—so much so, that if "non purpura regum" did not point the way, one might hesitate to follow *Georg.* ii. 503-504 to its source, Lucr. ii. 40-47.]

Lucretius:	*Culex:*
iii. 60 quae miseros homines cogunt transcendere fines	84 nec euectus finem transcendat habendi
v. 1432 quia non cognouit quae sit habendi	Virg. *Georg.* ii.: 499 aut doluit miserans inopem aut inuidit habenti.
1433 finis	

[*Culex* 84 repeats its main source, probably fusing with Lucr. iii. 60.

Georg. ii. 499 has "habenti," but not "fines" or "finis," nor "transcendere."

Thus the Virgilian line looks to be a mere reminiscence of the *Culex* line.

But *Georg.* ii. 499 has "miserans." Is that a suggestion from Lucr. iii. 60, "miseros"?]

To recapitulate: *Culex* stands closer to Lucr. ii. than does *Georg.* ii. in structure, vocabulary, and phraseology.

The departures which the poet has made from Lucretius in common with Virgil are few in comparison with his own private reproductions.

The private departures made by Virgil are numerous compared with those to be found in *Culex*.

Lucr. v. and Cat. lxiv., immediately present to the mind of the author of *Culex*, are vague memories in Virgil.

Culex's "philosophy" is gained from Lucr. v., not from *Georg.* ii.

Then what tempts us to suppose that *Culex* is post-Virgilian? *Culex* stands artistically between Lucretius and Virgil.

Section G.—*Culex* 98-157.

This long and laboured description of the assembly ground has many almost inevitable features common to its kind—the shady trees, the stream, the cave, the birds. Nor is there anything to tempt the reader to suppose that the poet is describing what he has seen with his own eyes, but, on the contrary, much to suggest that his picture is the composite product of various literary reminiscences.

Certain phrases seem to give ground for supposing that here, too, *Culex* relies upon Theocritus interwoven with Lucretius and Cat. lxiv., and perhaps upon these authors alone; for while there is something to suggest imitation of Ap. Rhodius and Aratus' *Phaenomena*, positive assertion of the fact of imitation there would go beyond the evidence of the few parallel passages to be adduced.

Culex 100: compacta solidum modulatur harundine carmen.

It has been suggested above that v. 98 is derived from Theoc. vii. 18-19.

Here (v. 100) "compacta" represents the Theocritean †εὖ†πακτος (Theoc. i. 128). "Solidum" (if that is what the poet wrote) may possibly have suggested itself to a bilingual by the similarity between εὐπαγής and εὔπακτος.

Virg. *Ecl.* i. 1-2 (inspired by Theoc. vii. 88-89 primarily) is too far from *Culex* 99-100 to afford any help to this enquiry.

Culex 102, lucidaque aetherio ponit discrimina mundo,

is not unlike

Lucr. v. 690: distinet aequato caelum discrimine metas.

Culex 104-106 may be compared with Lucr. v. 948-951:

Culex:

104 et iam compellente uagae pastore capellae
105 ima susurrantis repetebant ad uada lymphae,
106 quae subter uiridem residebant caerula muscum

Lucr. v.:

948 denique nota uagi siluestria templa tenebant
949 Nympharum, quibus e scibant umori' fluenta
950 lubrica proluuie large lauere umida saxa,
951 umida saxa, super uiridi stillantia musco.

Of more importance is the description of the grove ("lucus") which follows in *Culex* 109-120.

It appears without doubt to be written after Lucr. ii. 629 *sqq.*, where the story of the Curetes and the flight of Zeus' mother to Crete for refuge from the infanticide Kronos is touched upon; but whether the flight of Rhea suggested the flight of Agaue, or, conversely, the legend of Agaue connected with this

sacred grove turned the poet's mind to Lucretius, is a question which cannot be decided. Child-murder forms the common factor.

Culex :	Lucr. ii. :
115 *hic* etiam uiridi ludentes Panes in herba	629 *hic* armata manus, Curetas nomine Grai
116 et Satyri Dryadesque chorus egere puellae	630 quos memorant Phrygios, inter se forte quod armis
117 Naiadum in coetu. non tantum Oeagrius Hebrum	631 ludunt in numerumque exultant sanguinolenti
118 restantem tenuit ripis siluasque canendo,	632 terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas,
	633 Dictaeos referunt Curetas qui Iouis illum
	634 uagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur,
119 quantum te pernice morantur, diua, chorea	635 cum pueri circum puerum pernice chorea
120 multa tuo laetae fundentes gaudia uultu.	636 armatei in numerum pulsarent aeribus aera.

[*Cf.* Lucr. iv. 580-586, "haec loca capripedes . . . sentiscere, quom Pan".]

Cat. lxiv. (which supplies several casual inspirations to this section of *Culex*, e.g., vv. 117, 120) contains an imitation of the above Lucretian passage (*cf.* Cat. lxiv. 255-264 and Lucr. ii. 618-643).

It is not, then, surprising to find the poet who took the Lucretian line-ending, "pernice chorea," from Lucr. ii. 635, taking over the line-ending "gaudia uultu" from Cat. lxiv. 34, "dona ferunt prae se, declarant gaudia uultu." He has evidently modelled his own line upon the Catullan line, rejecting the Catullan variant assonance of *-er* and *-or* in favour of a consistent assonance in *u*, which

assonance in vv. 119-121 he carries too far, influenced, I suspect, by Lucr. v. 948-951, possibly used by him for *Culex* 104-106.

With *Culex* 115-120 it is worth while comparing *Ecl.* vi. 27-30:

> tum uero in numerum Faunosque ferasque uideres
> ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;
> nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes,
> nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.

Virgil refers naturally to Orpheus, because *Ecl.* vi. 31 *sqq.* is a Lucretian paraphrase of Orpheus' song in Ap. Rhod. i. 496 *sqq.*, ἤειδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα κ.τ.λ.

But how did he come to Lucr. ii. 629 *sqq.* ?

"Parnasia rupes" is a line-ending which belongs to *Culex* 15, and which we saw above may very well be a reminiscence of Theoc. vii. 148.

Virgil is not concerned here with Theoc. vii. But Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 27-30 is imitating *Culex* or vice versa.

Culex 115-119 is directly based on Lucr. ii. 629 *sqq.*,[1] and *Culex* 120 on Cat. lxiv. 34.

Virgil has neither "pernice chorea" nor "gaudia uultu." He has, in common with *Culex*, the Lucretian "ludere."

Yet we cannot be sure that he is imitating *Culex*, for we find he has the Lucretian "in numerum," which *Culex* has not.

[1] Ap. Rhod. iv. 1140-1222 has points of resemblance with *Culex* here, but not important enough, I think, to afford presumption of imitation by *Culex*

The deduction seems just—that either the author of *Culex* knew the sources of Virgil's *Ecl.* vi. or Virgil the sources of *Culex* 115-120.

Beyond that, however the probabilities may be, we should not proceed without hazard.

But does not such minute familiarity with the poetic *modus operandi* point to a common authorship for *Culex* and Virg. *Ecl.* vi. ?

Again here, as in *Culex* 94, we find the plural "Panes"—Theocritean, and not Virgilian.

In Moschus iii. 26-29 Bion's death is lamented by Πᾶνες, Σάτυροι, Πρίηποι, Κρανίδες.

In *Ecl.* v. 59, "Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas," Virgil avoids the plural Πᾶνες, though Moschus iii. is one of his sources.

If, then, on the one hand, we must note on this score a non-Virgilian trait in *Culex*, on the other hand we must note that *Culex* exhibits a tendency towards the Greek, and is not here, at least, the slavish imitator of Virgil.

Section H.—*Culex* 121-157.

Probably a number of similar descriptions in Theocritus were present more or less vividly to the poet's mind's eye as he composed. Such passages are :

Theoc. xi. 45-48 (*ἐντὶ δάφναι τηνεί κ.τ.λ.*) ; Theoc. xxii. 37-41 (*εὗρον δ' ἀέναον κρήνην κ.τ.λ.*) ; Theoc. *Epigr.* iv. 5-12 (*ἀέναον δέ ῥεῖθρον κ.τ.λ.*) ; Theoc. v 45-49 (*οὐχ ἑρψῶ τηνεί κ.τ.λ.*).

Certainly the author of *Culex* would have been mindful of Theoc. i. 21-23:

> δεῦρ' ὑπὸ τὰν πτελέαν ἐσδώμεθα, τῶ τε Πριήπω
> καὶ τᾶν κρανίδων κατεναντίον, ᾇπερ ὁ θῶκος
> τῆνος ὁ ποιμενικὸς καὶ ταὶ δρύες;

for, as we shall have occasion to see later, *Culex* 141-144 imitates, at first or second hand, Theoc. i. 29-31.

Comparable are *Culex* 129-130, "teneris implexae bracchia truncis, candida fundebant tentis uelamina ramis" (*Heliades*—i.e., poplars) and

> Theoc. vii. 7-9:
> ταὶ δὲ παρ' αὐτάν
> αἴγειροι πτελέαι τε ἐΰσκιον ἅλσος ὕφαινον,
> χλωροῖσιν πετάλοισι κατηρεφέες κομόωσαι.

Culex 124 brings lotus and plane together. So, too, Theoc. xviii. 43-44:

> πρᾶταί τοι στέφανον λωτῶ χαμαὶ αὐξομένοιο
> πλέξασαι σκιερὰν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνιστον.

Culex 127-129 and 142 may be reminiscent of Ap. Rhod. iv. 597-598 and 603-605:

> ἔνθα ποτ' αἰθαλόεντι τυπεὶς πρὸς στέρνα κεραυνῷ
> ἡμιδαὴς Φαέθων πέσεν ἅρματος Ἠελίοιο . . .
> ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦραι
> Ἠλιάδες ταναῇσιν ἐελμέναι αἰγείροισιν
> μύρονται κινυρὸν μέλεαι γόον.

So possibly may *Culex* 137-139 be reminiscent of Aratus' *Phaenomena* 342-343 and 348-350 (ed. A. Koechly), perhaps by way of Cicero's *Aratea* ad loc. ("at canis ad caudam," etc.). But here the author of *Culex*, I suspect, had in mind the Argo pine of Cat. lxiv. He makes foolish use of Cat. lxiv. in this section of *Culex* elsewhere.

Thus, *Culex* 132-133, "perfide multis, perfide Demophoon," is derived from Cat. lxiv. 132-133, "perfide, ab aris, perfide deserto . . ."; and *Culex* 124-125, "impia lotos, impia," from Cat. lxiv. 403-404, "impia nato, impia."

I suspect *Culex* 138-143 of borrowing and redistributing (not unadvantageously) the adjectives from Cat. lxiv. 288-291:

> namque ille tulit radicitus altas
> fagos et recto proceras stipite laurus,
> non sine nutanti platano lentaque sorore
> flammati Phaethontis et aeria cupressu;

and should not be surprised if *Culex* 129-130, "implexae bracchia truncis, | candida fundebant tentis uelamina ramis," was formed on the model of Cat. lxiv. 307-308, "complectens undique uestis | candida purpurea talos incinxerat ora."

Surprise at this kind of thing on the part of the author of *Culex* is the last emotion one need feel.

For *Culex* 146-153 our poet presses into the service Lucr. v. 1379-1382:

> at liquidas auium uoces imitarier ore
> ante fuit multo quam leuia carmina cantu
> concelebrare homines possent aurisque iuuare.

He does not disdain "carmina" and "cantus" in one line; and he is careless enough to take over the Lucretian introductory "at" (as he did the Lucretian "hic" in *Culex* 115, less exceptionably[1]). Lucretius' "leuia carmina" he changes to "dulcia carmina."

[1] And the Lucretian *saepe* in *Culex* 69.

The change of adjective was quite necessary; and he would not need the inspiration of "dulcis" in Lucr. v. 1384, though perhaps "querellas" there helped along the "querulae" of *Culex* 151.

Lucretius, however, though supplying the "uoces" and the "auris" to receive them, is not sufficient for *Culex*. The poet turns for supplement to Theocritus, and, of course, to Theoc. vii. 135-146, where ready made for him is the picture of elm and poplar growing by the cool stream, where a man may rest in his cavern and listen to the music of bird and cicala during the noontide heat:

Theoc. vii. 135-143:

πολλαὶ δ' ἄμμιν ὕπερθε κατὰ κρατὸς δονέοντο
αἴγειροι πτελέαι τε· τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε. [cf. *Culex* 105]
τοὶ δὲ ποτὶ σκιαραῖς ὀροδαμνίσιν ἁθαλίωνες
τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες ἔχον πόνον· ἁ δ' ὀλολυγών [cf. *Culex* 152-153]
τηλόθεν ἐν πυκινᾶσι βάτων τρύζεσκεν ἀκάνθαις.
ἄειδον κόρυδοι καὶ ἀκανθίδες, ἔστενε τρυγών, [cf. *Culex* 146]
πωτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι.
πάντ' ὤσδεν θέρεος μάλα πίονος, ὤσδε δ' ὀπώρας. [cf. *Culex* 153]

As Theocritus closes his paragraph with the all-embracing *πάντα*, so the author of *Culex* with "cuncta."

Echo may be due to an attempt, typically Culicean, not to dispense altogether with the cicala passage in Theoc. xvi. 94-96:

ἀνίκα τέττιξ
ποιμένας ἐνδίους πεφυλαγμένος ὑψόθι δένδρων
ἀχεῖ ἐν ἀκρεμόνεσσιν.

That certain of the passages here quoted as sources for this section of the *Culex* are not close enough to

their parallels in *Culex* to justify a positive assertion that they are the sources I am aware. Certain, however, are indisputably direct sources for *Culex;* whilst the rest make so much the stronger claim, as the more extensive is the general use of Cat. lxiv., Lucr. v., and Theocritus made by the author of *Culex* through the poem.

The correspondence between *Culex* 123-125 and 151-152 and *Georg.* i. 373-378 seems worth attention, as an example of the strange mental brotherhood existing between the author of *Culex* and Virgil.

Culex:	*Georg.* i.:
123 nam primum prona surgebant ualle patentes	373 numquam imprudentibus imber
124 aeriae platanus, inter quas impia lotos, . . .	374 obfuit: aut illum surgentem uallibus imis
	375 aeriae fugere grues, aut bucula caelum
	376 suspiciens patulis captauit naribus auras,
	377 aut arguta lacus circumuolitauit hirundo,
151 hac querulae referunt uoces quis nantia limo	378 et ueterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam.
152 corpora lympha fouet.	

Virgil's lines are apparently a combination of Aratus, *Dios.* 177 *sqq.* (*σῆμα δέ τοι ἀνέμοιο κ.τ.λ.*) with Varro Atacinus[1] (*ap.* Servius) and Homer, *Iliad* iii. 7.

Culex 123-124 are derived from Theoc. xviii. 43-45,

[1] aut arguta lacus circum uolitauit hirundo,
et bos suspiciens caelum (mirabile uisu)
naribus aerium patulis decerpsit odorem, . . .

"primum" being the unconscious reproduction of *πρῶται* and "surgebant" of *αὐξομένοιο*; whilst "aeriae" marks the contrast between the plane and the lowly lotos, *χαμαὶ αὐξομένοιο.*

In *Culex* "aeriae" is used in the ordinary sense (e.g., *Aen.* ix., "aeriae consurgunt quercus").

In *Georg.* i. 375 Virgil is presumed to mistranslate the Homeric *ἠέριαι* (*Iliad* iii. 7), an epithet applied to cranes in a sense other than that which the context shows to be intended by Virgil. Without doubt Virgil is reproducing the Homeric *ἠέριαι*, for cranes are not mentioned by his primary source, Aratus.

Culex has "surgebant ualle patentes aeriae"; Virgil has "surgentem uallibus imis aeriae." "Ualle" or "uallibus" is found neither in Theoc. xviii. 44-45 nor in Aratus, *Dios* 177-218, though "ualle" of *Culex* is not unnatural after the Theocritean *χαμαί.*

Decision as to priority between *Culex* and *Georg.* i. here is not possible. But there is one tempting hypothesis offered, which will explain the apparent mistranslation of the Homeric *ἠέριαι.*

Culex 144 pinguntque aureolos uiridi pallore corymbos (hederae).
Virg. *Ecl.* iii. 39 diffusos hedera uestit pallore corymbos.

Without doubt Virgil imitates here Theoc. i. 27 *sqq.*:

καὶ βαθὺ κισσύβιον κεκλυσμένον ἀδέι κηρῷ . . .
τῷ ποτὶ μὲν χείλη μαρύεται ὑψόθι κισσός,
κισσὸς ἐλιχρύσῳ κεκονιμένος· ἁ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν
καρπῷ ἕλιξ εἰλεῖται ἀγαλλομένα κροκόεντι.

But in *Ecl.* iii. 39 he is very far away from Theocritus. The question is, Does Virgil imitate *Culex* or *Culex* Virgil?

No answer is perhaps possible. But in *Culex* 405 we find "hederaeque nitor pallente corymbo"; and there, I shall suggest, *Culex* imitates Nicander.

There is a point of contact between Theoc. i. and *Culex* 144. Both are concerned with the shepherd's meeting-place. So that Virgil would find a ready mental bridge from Theoc. i. to this scene in *Culex*.

Before leaving this section of the *Culex* it may be of interest to note that Virgil's "asilus" (*Georg.* iii. 143-147) flies round much the same scenery as we have in the Delian's grove in *Culex*:

> saltibus in uacuis pascunt et plena secundum
> flumina, muscus ubi et uiridissima gramine ripa,
> speluncaeque tegant et saxea procubet umbra.
> est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque uirentem
> plurimus Alburnum uolitans, cui nomen asilo . . .

Further, Virgil, like the author of *Culex*, grazes his goats (*Georg.* iii. 321-338) in a Varronian countryside, which at the same time offers all the charms of Theoc. vii.:

Culex:	*Georg.* iii.:
153 argutis et cuncta fremunt ardore cicadis	328 et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae
107 iam medias operum partis euectus erat sol,	
108 cum densas pastor pecudes cogebat in umbras	331 aestibus at mediis umbrosam exquirere uallem,
130 tentis . . . ramis	332 sicubi magna Iouis antiquo robore quercus
134 . . . quercus	333 ingentis tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum

Culex :	*Georg.* iii. :
140 ilicis et nigrae species . . .	334 ilicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra.
146 at uolucres . . .	
147 carmina per uarios edunt resonantia cantus	338 litoraque alcyonen resonant, acalanthida dumi.

The direct debt of *Georg.* iii. 321-338 to Theoc. vii. is undeniable. The direct debt of *Culex* 146-153 to Theoc. vii. is equally undeniable.

Culex 146-153 owes something to Lucretius. *Georg.* iii. 321-338 seems to owe nothing to Lucretius. At least we may conclude there is nothing to show *Culex* to be dependent upon Virgil here.

Section I.—*Culex* 163-201.

It is not doubtful that the snake-description in *Culex* and that in *Georg.* iii. 416-439 stand in imitative relationship to one another. We know that *Georg.* iii. 416-439 imitates Nicander, *Theriaca*, directly.

Here it might seem we have a chance to decide positively the vexed question of priority between *Culex* and *Georgics*. If *Culex* does not use Nicander, then it is hard to resist the conclusion that Virgil was first in the field.

Unfortunately, the state of the text in *Culex* is particularly bad here; and, further, *Culex* does imitate Nicander directly.

So that, whilst no decision is possible on the score of priority, it is something gained that we find *Culex* familiar, where the poem resembles Virgilian verse, with the sources which Virgil drew from.

Virgilian snake descriptions have a strong family resemblance—so many spots and spires and coils and hissings:

e.g., *Georg.* ii. 153 nec rapit immensos orbis per humum neque tanto
154 squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis;

e.g., *Aen.* v. 273-279; e.g., *Aen.* ii. 471-475. *Aen.* ii. 204-225; e.g., *Aen.* ii. 379-382.

The resemblance, however, is shared with a wide brotherhood of ancient poets (*e.g.*, Hesiod, *Theog.* 825-827; *e.g.*, Ap. Rhod. iv. 1541-1545; *e.g.*, Theoc. xxiv. 13-20), so that it is not too easy to pick out what are the specifically Virgilian traits. One thing seems clear, however—namely, that after writing *Georg.* iii. 416-439 Virgil almost always harked back to it again when he had occasion to write of snakes or things of a snaky nature.

That passage must be quoted in full here:

Georg. iii.:

416 saepe sub immotis praesepibus aut mala tactu
uipera delituit caelumque exterrita fugit,
aut tecto adsuetus coluber succedere et umbrae,
pestis acerba boum, pecorique aspergere uirus,
420 fouit humum. cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor,
tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem
deice. iamque fuga timidum caput abdidit alte,
cum medii nexus extremaeque agmina caudae
soluuntur, tardosque trahit sinus ultimus orbis.
425 est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis,
squamea conuoluens sublato pectore terga
atque notis longam maculosus grandibus aluum;
qui, dum amnes ulli rumpuntur fontibus et dum
uere madent udo terrae ac pluuialibus austris,
430 stagna colit, ripisque habitans hic piscibus atram
improbus ingluuiem ranisque loquacibus explet;

Georg. iii.:

postquam exusta palus terraeque ardore dehiscunt,
exsilit in siccum et flammantia lumina torquens
saeuit agris, asperque siti atque exterrita aestu.
ne mihi tum mollis sub diuo carpere somnos,
neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas,
cum positis nouus exuuiis nitidusque iuuenta
uoluitur, aut catulos tectis aut oua relinquens,
arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.

We can say with much confidence that *Georg.* iii. 428-434 is a very free paraphrase of Nicander, *Ther.* 359-371:

Nic. *Ther.*:

359 νῦν δ' ἄγε χερσύδροιο καὶ ἀσπίδος εἴρεο μορφάς
360 ἰσαίας· πληγῇ δὲ κακήθεα σήμαθ' ὁμαρτεῖ· . . .
366 ὃς δ' ἤτοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἐπὶ βροχθώδεϊ λίμνῃ
367 ἄσπειστον βατράχοισι φέρει κότον· ἀλλ' ὅταν ὕδωρ
368 Σείριος ἀζήνῃσι, τρύγῃ δ' ἐνὶ πυθμένι λίμνης,
369 καὶ τόθ' ὅγ' ἐν χέρσῳ τελέθει ψαφαρός τε καὶ ἄχρους,
370 θάλπων ἠελίῳ βλοσυρὸν δέμας· ἐν δὲ κελεύθοις
371 γλώσσῃ ποιφύγδην νέμεται διψήρεας ὄγμους.

Culex 163-167 is, unfortunately, not certain enough textually to enable us to compare it usefully with *Georg.* iii. 428-434. *Culex* 165, "mersus ut in limo magno sub sideris aestu," is, we may suspect, reproducing Nic. *Ther.* 366-368, with "limo" for λίμνῃ and "sideris aestu" for Σείριος; and some verses after *Culex* 165 may be lost. But no positive results can be expected from an enquiry which must proceed from conjectural hypotheses.

The model for *Culex* is rather to be sought in Nicander's description of the asp—a crested reptile, which attacks on sight those who cross its path:

Nic. *Ther.* :	*Culex* :
157 φράζεο δ' αὐαλέῃσιν ἐπιφρίκτην φολίδεσσιν	
158 ἀσπίδα φοινήεσσαν, ἀμυδρότατον δάκος ἄλλων. . . .	
164 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἢ δοῦπον νέον οὔασιν ἠέ τιν' αὐγήν	
165 ἀθρήσῃ, νωθρὸν μὲν ἀπὸ ῥέθεος βάλεν ὕπνον,	
166 ὀλκῷ δὲ τροχόεσσαν ἄλων εἰλίξατο γαίῃ,	
167 σμερδαλέον δ' ἀνὰ μέσσα κάρη πεφρικὸς ἀείρει.	170 attollit nitidis pectus fulgoribus, effert
	171 sublimi ceruice caput . . .
172 χροιὴ δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν ψαφαρὴ ἐπιδέδρομε νώτοις,	164 uario maculatus corpore serpens
173 ἄλλοτε μηλινόεσσα καὶ αἰόλος ἄλλοτε τεφρή, . . .	
177 δοιοὶ δ' ἐνσκομίοισιν ὑπερφαίνουσι μετώπου	171 cui crista superne
178 οἷα τύλοι· τὸ δ' ἔνερθεν ὑπαιφοινίσσεται ὄθμα	172 edita purpureo lucens maculatur amictu
179 πολλὸν ὑπὸ σπείρῃς· ψαφαρὸς δ' ἀναπίμπραται αὐχήν	197 cingunt qua tempora cristae
180 ἄκριτα ποιφύσσοντος, ὅτ' ἀντομένοισιν ὀδίταις	
181 ἄϊδα προσμάξῃτι, ἐπὶ ξαμενὲς κοτέουσα.	

This asp-paragraph in Nicander's *Theriaca* was, I think, the main inspiration for *Culex's* author ; but no doubt he availed himself of other passages in that terrifying treatise. If *Culex* 181, "manant sanguineae per tractus undique guttae," bears its meaning on the surface, I suspect that our poet had his eye on Nicander's *Haemorrhous*, and perhaps was careless enough to confuse snake-bite symptoms with snake habits (*cf.* Nic. *Ther.* 291-293, 301-302, 305-

308). His goatherd at the first alarm flies, following Nicander's advice to those who fall in with the Thracian Cenchrenes:

Nic. *Ther.* :

469 ἤτοι ὅτ' ἠελίοιο θερειτάτη ἵσταται ἀκτίς,
470 οὔρεα μαιμώσσων ἐπινίσσεται ὀκριοέντα,
471 αἵματος ἰσχανόων, καὶ ἐπὶ κτίλα μῆλα δοκεύων,
472 ἢ Σάου ἠὲ Μοσύχλου ὅτ' ἀμφ' ἐλάτῃσι μακεδναῖς
473 ἄγραυλοι ψύχωσι, λελοιπότες ἔργα νομάων,
474 μὴ σύ γε θαρσαλέος περ ἐὼν θέλε βήμεναι ἄντην
475 μαινομένου· . . .
476 φεῦγε δ' ἀεί.

It is to the goatherd's credit that, though he is exactly the person for whom Nicander legislates, he does not keep on flying, but returns to defend his goats.

Under these circumstances, then, we need not make much play with the fact that *Culex* 170-171 ("attollit") keeps to the form of Nic. *Ther.* 167 (*ἀείρει*), whereas Virg. *Georg.* iii. 426 changes the form ("sublato pectore").

Another point deserves more attention.

In *Georg.* iii. 435-439 Virgil happens to describe in brief the very scene which forms the nucleus of the plot of *Culex*—the countryman asleep and about to be attacked by the angry reptile (cf. *Culex* 157-162).

Culex :	Virg. *Aen.* vi. :
189 . . . tum torua tenentem	467 . . . torua tuentem
190 lumina respexit serpentem comminus, inde	472 tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit (Dido).

Culex :

191 impiger, exanimus, uix compos mente refugit

Aen. ii. :

379 improuisum aspris ueluti qui sentibus anguem
380 pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit.
[cf. *Aen.* ii. 204-225 (dracones)]

Aen. vii. :

447 tot Erinys sibilat hydris
448 tantaque se facies aperit ; tum flammea torquens
449 lumina . . .

Culex 179 intonat ore (of serpent).
Virg. *Aen.* vi. 607 intonat ore (of Fury, snaky).
Virg. *Aen.* ii. 475 } micat ore (of serpent).
Virg. *Georg.* iii. 439 }
Virg. *Aen.* xi. 754 sibilat ore (of serpent).

Culex 164 : immanis uario maculatus corpore serpens
Georg. iii. 149 : asper, acerba sonans (*asilus*)
Lucr. v. 33 : asper, acerba tuens immani corpore serpens.

The author of *Culex* and Virgil have each taken over a different half of the Lucretian line. It is easy to see how the author of *Culex* was attracted to Lucretius here—both are dealing with the serpent. But Virgil is concerned with a gadfly ; and it is not at all easy to imagine a good reason for his attention's being directed to Lucr. v. 33, unless he had in mind the *Culex* and the worthy gnat frustrating the designs of the serpent.

This seems to be the fact ; at least, *Georg.* iii. 145-155 has contact not only with *Culex* 163-201, but also with the snake description of *Georg.* iii. 322-358.

Georg. iii. :

146 est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque uirentem
plurimus Alburnum uolitans, cui nomen asilo
Romanum est, oestrum Grai uertere uocantes,
asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita siluis
(Cf. *Georg.* iii. 417: caelumque exterrita fugit.
Cf. *Georg.* iii. 434 ; asperque siti atque exterrita aestu.)
150 diffugiunt armenta ; furit mugitibus aether [cf. *Culex* 179 : furit stridoribus]
concussus siluaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri.
hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras
Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuuencae.
hunc quoque, nam mediis feruoribus acrior instat, [cf. *Culex* 175 : acrior instat]
155 arcebis grauido pecori, armentaque pasces
sole recens orto aut noctem ducentibus astris.

[*Cf.* Hom. *Odyss.* xxii. 300-301.]

A number of fleeting resemblances between *Culex* and Virgil, out of which I have been able to obtain nothing to the point but which may be useful to others, are here given :

Culex 170-171 : attollit nitidis pectus fulgoribus, †effert† sublimi ceruice caput
Virg. *Georg.* iii. 552-553 : Pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque
Inque dies auidum surgens caput altius effert

[Tisiphone is snaky in *Culex* 218.]

Culex 181-182 : manant sanguineae per tractus undique guttae,
spiritibus rumpit fauces.
Virg. *Georg.* iii. 507-508 : it naribus ater
sanguis et obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua.

[Virgil's symptoms and medical receipts are often taken from Nic. *Ther.* *Cf.* Nic. *Ther.* 301-302.]

Culex 195 : horrida squamosi uoluentia terga draconis

Virg. *Georg.* iv. 13-14 : absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti pinguibus a stabulis.

[*Cf.* Nic. *Ther.* 21-22 :

ἀλλὰ σύ γε σταθμοῦ τε καὶ αὐλίον ἑρπετὰ φύγδην
ῥηϊδίως ἐκ πάντα διώξεαι.

But the "squalentia terga" is not here in Nicander.]

Culex 184-185 : namque | qua diducta genas pandebant lumina †gemmans† . . .

Virg. *Georg.* ii. 73-74 : nec modus inserere atque oculos imponere simplex.
nam qua se medio trudunt de cortice gemmae . . .

Virg. *Aen.* iii. 150-152 : uisi ante oculos astare iacentis
in somnis, multo manifesti lumine, qua se
plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras:

[There is a curious connexion between the three passages. The *Aeneid* passage is concerned with a nightly vision, such as the *Culex* goatherd suffered.

The poetic source is primarily Ap. Rhod. iv. 1312 *sqq.* ἔνδιον ἦμαρ ἔην κ.τ.λ.]

Culex 169 : iam magis atque magis corpus reuolubile uoluens

Aen. xii. 239 : iam magis atque magis, serpitque per agmina murmur

[The metaphor in "serpit" is interesting, when we remember that there are only three examples in Virgil of *magis magis*, or *magis atque magis*.]

Culex 193-194 : qui casus sociarit opem numenue deorum | prodere sit dubium—
Aen. xii. 320-322 : incertum, qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta, quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne, attulerit.

Culex 192 : . . detraxit ab arbore truncum . . .
194 : . . . ualuit sed uincere
175 : . . . acrior instat
Aen. xii. 781-783 : namque diu luctans lentoque in stirpe moratus uiribus haud ullis ualuit discludere morsus roboris Aeneas. dum nititur acer et instat . . .

Culex 192 : et ualidum dextra detraxit ab arbore truncum
Aen. xi. 651 : nunc ualidam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem.

Section J.—*Culex* 202-209.

These commonplace lines provide no line of enquiry leading to any positive results so far as I can see. There are numerous points of contact with Virgilian verse.

Culex 203-204 : piger procedit Vesper ab Oeta, | cum grege compulso pastor . . .
Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 85-86 : cogere donec ouis stabulis numerumque referre | iussit et inuito processit Vesper Olympo

[It is possible that both poets have in mind Cat. lxii. 1-7. But that is very little to go upon.]

Culex 204 : duplicantibus umbris
Virg. *Ecl.* ii. 67 : duplicat umbras
} [*line-endings*].

[Virgilian source, if any, unknown to me.]

Culex 206, "per corpora somnus," is written under Lucretian influence, as I have explained above in note to v. 93, "corpora somno."

SECTION K.—*Culex* 210-216 (*agor*), 223-232, AND 372-384.

The gnat's complaint seems to have too much affinity with Cat. lxviii. for the connexion to be accidental:

Culex 211-212: tua dum mi carior ipsa
uita fuit uita, rapior per inania uentis.
Cat. lxviii. 159-160: et longe ante omnes mihi quae me carior ipsost,
lux mea, qua uiua uiuere dulce mihist.

Culex 224: restitui superis leti iam limine ab ipso
Cat. lxviii. 4: et a mortis limine restituam

[*Culex* 413-414: parue Culex pecudum custos tibi tale merenti
funeris officium uitae pro munere reddit,
seems to be based on
Cat. lxviii. 149-150: hoc tibi qua potui, confectum carmine munus,
pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis—

"funeris" being substituted for the Catullan "carminis," as the context and the nature of the "return" requires.]

But the author of *Culex* possibly had in mind the complaint of Ariadne in his favourite Cat. lxiv. The reader notices that the gnat makes no explicit demand for a funeral, though the goatherd understands his trouble readily enough.

Perhaps the poet, over familiar with Catullus himself, overlooked the omission, seduced by the memory of Cat. lxiv. 149-153:

Culex :	Cat. lxiv. :
224 restitui superis leti iam limine ab ipso	149 certe ego te in medio uersantem turbine leti
	150 eripui . . .
216 praeda Charonis agor . . .	152 pro quo dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque
	153 praeda, neque iniecta tumulabor mortua terra

[*Cf.* Lucr. vi. 1157, "leti iam limine in ipso."]

Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 226, writes :

adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.

He is in *Aen.* iv. borrowing from Cat. lxiv.

Culex 383 has :

et mea diffusas rapientur dicta per auras.

But *Culex* appears to be echoing Lucr. iv. 568-569 :

at quae pars uocum non auris incidit ipsas
praeterlata perit frustra diffusa per auras.

Thus Virgil, having independent contact with Cat. lxiv. and not with Lucretius, has contact with *Culex*, having also independent contact with Cat. lxiv., where *Culex* has independent contact with Lucretius.

For the restoration of *Culex* 380-383, it is possible that Theoc. xxix. 35-40 may be useful :

αἰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν ἀνέμοισιν ἐπιτρέπῃς,
ἐν θυμῷ δὲ λέγῃς " τί με δαιμόνι' ἐννοχλεῖς " ;
νῦν μὲν κήπὶ τὰ χρίσεα μᾶλ' ἕνεκεν σέθεν
βαίην καὶ φύλακον νεκύων πέδα Κέρβερον,
τότα δ' οὐδὲ καλεῦντος ἐπ' αὐλεΐαις θύραις
προμόλοιμί κε παυσάμενος χαλεπῶ πόθω.

The results of the discussion on the above section of *Culex* are :

Culex imitates Catullus directly and is independent of Virgil.

Section L.

The *Culex* underworld (*Culex* 216-222 and 233-371) has been thought to be a rehash of *Aen.* vi. and *Georg.* iv., mainly, I suppose, because of the Orpheus episode and list of Roman heroes. Nothing could be further from the truth. The *Culex* maintains its affection for the old favourites, Lucretius and Cat. lxiv., while at the same time not disdaining the help of Homer at first hand.

The Major Criminals—Culex 234-248.

Here the author of *Culex* combines the available Lucretian material (Lucr. iii. 980-1035) with the material supplied by *Od.* xi. Unlike Virgil in *Aen.* vi., he mentions only those criminals whose punishment is referred to by Lucretius—a very curious circumstance if he was working with *Aen.* vi. before him. He retains the Greek form of proper names. He leaves obvious traces of his borrowings both from Lucretius and Homer:

Culex:

234 nam uinctus sedet immanis serpentibus Otos,
235 deuinctum maestus procul aspiciens Ephialten,
236 conati quondam cum sint | rescindere mundum
| rescindere celum. *Vat.*
| inscendere mundum, *B. Cors.*

Lucr. v.:

117 proptereaque putes ritu par esse Gigantum
118 pendere eos poenas immani pro scelere omnis
119 qui ratione sua disturbent moenia mundi
120 praeclarumque uelint caeli restinguere solem.

Homer, *Odyssey* xi. :

308 Ὦτον τ' ἀντίθεον τηλεκλειτόν τ' Ἐφιάλτην,
309 οὓς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα . . .
313 οἵ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπειλήτην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
314 φυλόπιδα στήσειν πολυάικος πολέμοιο.
315 Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
316 Πήλιον . . .
318 ἀλλ' ὄλεσεν Διὸς υἱός, . . .

Culex :	Lucr. iii. :
237 et Tityos, Latona, tuae memor anxius irae	992 sed Tityos nobis hic est, in amore iacentem
238 (implacabilis ira nimis) iacet alitis esca.	993 quem uolucres lacerant atque exest anxius angor.

Homer, *Odyssey* xi. :

576 καὶ Τιτυὸν εἶδον, Γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν,
577 κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ· ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα,
578 γῦπε δέ μιν ἑκάτερθε παρημένω ἦπαρ ἔκειρον,
580 Λητὼ γὰρ ἔλκησε, Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν.

[This affords an excellent example of how *Culex* combines Lucretius and Homer.

The "et Tityos" is natural enough without καὶ Τιτυὸν to encourage the poet. "Iacet" is common to Lucretius and Homer, κεῖτο and "iacentem." The useless "anxius" in the fifth foot is mere idle borrowing from Lucretius exclusively. The mention of Leto from Homer exclusively.]

Culex :	Lucr. iii. :
240 uix ultimus amni	980 nec miser impendens magnum timet aere saxum
241 exstat nectareas diuum qui prodidit escas,	981 Tantalus, ut fama est, cassa formidine torpens,
242 gutturis arenti reuolutus in omnia sensu.	987 quamlibet immani proiectu corporis exstet . . .

[But of Tityos.]

Homer, *Odyssey* xi. :

582 καὶ μὴν Τάνταλον εἰσεῖδον χάλεπ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα,
583 ἑστεῶτ' ἐν λίμνῃ· ἡ δὲ προσέπλαζε γενείῳ.

[Evidently *Culex* prefers this Homeric version of Tantalus' trials, reserving the boulder for Sisyphus.]

Culex :

243 quid saxum procul aduerso qui monte reuoluit,
244 contempsisse dolor quem numina uincit acerbans

Lucr. v. :

995 Sisyphus in uita quoque nobis ante oculos est,
996 qui petere a populo fasces saeuasque secures
997 imbibit et semper uictus tristisque recedit.
1000 hoc est aduerso nixantem trudere monte
1001 saxum quod tamen e summo iam uertice rusum
1001 uoluitur et plani raptim petit aequora campi.

Homer, *Odyssey* xi. :

593 καὶ μὴν Σίσυφον εἰσεῖδον κράτερ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα,
594 λᾶαν βαστάζοντα πελώριον ἀμφοτέρῃσιν,
596 λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον·
599 αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἂψ ὤσασκε.

[Lucretius is evidently following Homer here: v. 1001 recalls the Homeric *αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής*, and is no doubt intended to reproduce something of the rhythm. "Trudere" represents *ὤθεσκε* and "aduerso monte" *ποτὶ λόφον*.

Culex pays little attention to Homer, but has the "aduerso monte" of Lucretius.]

Culex:

245 otia quaerentem frustratibus? ite, puellae,
246 ite, quibus taedas accendi tristis Erinys, . . .

[A corrupt passage, which may be emended perhaps to—

245 dolia quae replent frustra subluta puellae,
246 rite quibus . . .

(*i.e.*, "quid quae puellae replent," etc.)]

Lucr. iii.:

1008 hoc, ut opinor, id est, aeuo florente puellas
1009 quod memorant laticem pertusum congerere in uas,
1010 quod tamen expleri nulla ratione potestur

The *Culex* order of criminal is: Otus and Ephialtes, Tityos, Tantalus, Sisyphus, Danaids.

The Lucr. iii. order of criminals is: Tantalus, Tityos, Sisyphus, Danaids.

The *Od.* xi. order of criminals is: Otus and Ephialtes, Tityus, Tantalus, Sisyphus.

It will now be profitable to examine certain portions of *Aen.* vi.

Aen. vi.:

580 hic genus anticum Terrae, Titania pubes,
581 fulmine deiecti fundo uoluuntur in imo.
582 hic et Aloidas geminos immania uidi
583 corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
584 adgressi, superisque Iouem detrudere regnis.

It is obvious enough that Virgil has in mind *Od.* xi. 308 *sqq.* "Genus anticum terrae" (cf. *Od.* xi. 309) and the oft-repeated "uidi" (Homeric καὶ μὴν εἰσεῖδον) are witness of that fact. *Culex* in a shorter notice has not reproduced Homer in those points; but *Culex* specifically mentions Otos and

Ephialtes, Virgil does not. Both *Culex* and Virgil use Homer directly.

Culex has "conati quondam cum sint rescindere celum (*Vat.*)"; Virgil has "qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum adgressi." [And in *Georg.* i. 280, "coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres."] Lucretius had "qui ratione sua disturbent moenia mundi praeclarumque uelint caeli restinguere solem."

Both *Culex* and Virgil depart from Lucretius identically. Interplay between them is evident. *Culex* uses Lucretius largely for the major criminals; and unless Virgil does, the odds are that Virgil used *Culex*. But Virgil seems to use Lucr. iii. directly.

Aen. vi.:

595 nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,
596 cernere erat, per tota nouem cui iugera corpus
597 porrigitur, rostroque immanis uoltur obunco
598 immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
599 uiscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
600 pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.

Virgil borrows directly from Homer (cf. *Od.* xi. 576-578). *Culex* passes by the nine *jugera* of Homer and Virgil, but mentions Latona, whom Virgil does not mention.

Culex reproduces Lucr. iii. 992-993. Virgil does not seem to notice those lines; but he imitates Lucr. iii. 985 ("sub magno scrutentur pectore") in *Aen.* vi. 599-600, which *Culex* does not imitate.

In the Otos-Ephialtes section we had reason to suspect that *Culex* and Virgil imitated directly with private reproductions Homer and imitated directly with common departure Lucretius.

Here we find *Culex* and Virgil imitating directly Homer with private reproductions, and Lucretius with private reproductions.

Aen. vi.:

602 quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
603 imminet adsimilis ; lucent genialibus altis
604 aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paternae
605 regifico luxu.

A portion of the Tantalus description in *Aen.* vi. here seems to have been lost. In what remains Virgil omits reference to *Od.* xi. 583, which *Culex* keeps. But Virgil has the "saxum" of Lucr. iii. 980, which *Culex* omits.

[He also imitates Cat. lxiv. 43-49, imitated by *Culex* 63-68.]

As for the Danaids, *Culex* retains them, following Lucretius. They are not found in *Aen.* vi.

To sum up the discussion—both *Culex* and *Aen.* vi. use Lucr. iii. and *Od.* xi. directly in the same or adjacent lines and for the same purpose, as their private reproductions indicate.

Their common departure from Lucretius indicates that either *Aen.* vi. imitated *Culex* or vice versa.

There is no evidence whatever to show that *Culex* is not independent of *Aen.* vi.

On the whole, *Culex* makes greater comparative use of Lucretius, *Aen.* vi. of Homer. The task each poet set himself would account for that fact. *Aen.* vi. needs more ornament than Lucretius supplies.

Moreover, Lucretius is probably more familiar to

the author of *Culex*, and, I should say, easier for him to handle.

Culex:
243 quid saxum procul *aduerso* qui *monte reuoluit*,
244 contempsisse dolor quem numina uincit acerbans.

240 *uix* ultimus amni
241 *exstat (Tantalus)*.

Lucr. iii.:
997 semper uictus tristisque recedit.
1000 hoc est *aduerso* nixantem *trudere monte*
1001 saxum . . .
987 immani proiectu corporis exstet

Virg. *Georg.* iii.:
368 stant circumfusa pruinis
369 corpora magna boum, confertoque agmine cerui
370 torpent mole noua et summis *uix cornibus exstant* . . .
373 set frustra oppositum *trudentes pectore montem* . . .

Culex 240-241 came, we saw, as a paraphrase of *Od.* xi. 583.

Culex 243 ("aduerso monte") came, we saw, from Lucretius' version of the Homeric ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον (*Od.* xi. 596).

How *Culex* came to combine *Od.* xi. and Lucr. iii. is, I hope, plain. But how Virgil came to use here, if he did use, *Culex* 240-243, and at the same time use also a Lucretian source for *Culex* 240-243—if he did use it—is not, I think, plain, unless Virgil wrote the *Culex*.

Of course, that is to assume that *Culex* is prior to *Georg.* iii. But if not, are we to suppose that it is mere accident that *Culex*, using *Od.* xi. and Lucr. iii., resembles *Georg.* iii. in this fashion?

Georg. iii. and *Culex* both have phrases of Lucretius exclusive of one another. Both have similar phrases exclusive of Lucretius.

The decisive consideration is: *Culex* uses Lucretius in similar context; *Georg.* iii. does not.

Culex 246 has the line-ending "tristis Erinys." A similar line-ending occurs in *Aen.* ii. 337.

But much more interesting is the line-ending "communis Erinys" in *Aen.* ii. 573:

Aen. ii.:
571 illa sibi infestos euersa ob Pergama Teucros
572 et poenas *Danaum* et deserti coniugis iras
573 praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys . . .

The thought of the Danai and a wronged husband is, perhaps, enough to recall the Danaids and wronged husbands, or vice versa.

Section M.—*Culex* 268-295.

The comparison of this section of *Culex* with *Georg.* iv. 452 *sqq.* might well of itself clear up the question of priority if we knew the poetic sources[1] of either passage fully. But they fail us just where they are needed, and where *Culex* and *Georg.* iv. touch one another most intimately and closely; whilst they are available just where there is no contact between the two poems.

There is no doubt that an imitative relation exists.

[1] Either poet, however, may have been inspired by some scene expressed in paint or marble rather than in the written word. I should say that Virgil certainly was, to judge by the picture he leaves us with in v. 497. The rest is anti-climax.

Georg. iv. :	*Culex :*
453 magna luis commissa: tibi has miserabilis Orpheus	
454 haut quaquam ad meritum poenas, ni Fata resistant,	
455 suscitat, et rapta grauiter pro coniuge saeuit.	
456 illa quidem, . . .	270 audax ille quidem . . .
466 Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,	
467 et caligantem nigra formidine lucum	272 nec timuit Phlegethonta furentem ardentibus undis,
468 ingressus, Manisque adiit regemque tremendum,	273 nec maesta obtenta Ditis ferrugine regna,
469 nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda.	274 ecfossasque domos ac Tartara nocte cruenta
	275 obsita
[470-476 from *Od.* xi. 36-43, literally and without contact with *Culex.*]	289 nimium manis experta seueros
	[218 Tisiphone serpentibus undique compta . . .
480 quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti	220 Cerberus et diris latrantia rictibus ora,
481 Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis	(*Corrupt. Perhaps:* Cerberus et diris latrat tria rictibus ora)
482 Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora,	221 anguibus hinc atque hinc lurent cui colla reflexis.
483 atque Ixionii uento rota constitit orbis.	
484 iamque pedem referens casus euaserat omnis,	
485 redditaqua Eurydice superas ueniebat ad auras,	287 Eurydicenque ultro ducendam reddere
486 pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem)	291 diuae munera

Georg. iv. :	*Culex :*
487 cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem,	
488 ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes:	294 gratum, si Tartara nossent, 295 peccatum.
489 restitit, Eurydicenque suam, iam luce sub ipsa,	
490 immemor, heu, uictusque animi respexit. ibi omnis	
491 effusus labor atque immitis rupta tyranni	293 rupisti iussa deorum
492 foedera, terque fragor stagnis auditus Auernis. . . .	
496 iamque uale : feror ingenti circumdata nocte,	
497 inualidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas. . . .	
505 illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba	289 illa quidem . . .
	278 iam rapidi steterant amnes et turba ferarum
507 rupe sub aeria deserti ad Strymonis undam	279 blanda uoce sequax regionem insiderat Orphei ;
508 fleuisse et gelidi haec euoluisse sub antris	280 iamque imam uiridi radicem mouerat alte
509 mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus	281 quercus humo, †steterant amnes†, siluaeque sonorae 282 sponte sua cantus rapiebant cortice auara.

It is just possible that *Culex* 286-288

(haec eadem potuit, Ditis, te uincere, coniunx,
Eurydicenque ultro ducendam reddere : non fas,
non erat in uitam diuae exorabile mortis),

a corrupt passage, is an echo of *Od.* xi. 216-218 :

ὦ μοι, τέκνον ἐμὸν, περὶ πάντων κάμμορε φωτῶν,
οὔ τί σε Περσεφόνεια, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ἀπαφίσκει,
ἀλλ' αὕτη δίκη ἐστὶ βροτῶν ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃσιν.

There may be concealed in the Culex lines the same contrast between the mildness of Persephone and the severity of fate.

Culex 280-281,

> iamque imam uiridi radicem mouerat alte
> quercus humo,

may be compared with Cat. lxiv. 288-289 :

> namque ille tulit radicitus altas
> fagos.

There is, as we saw above, some ground for suspecting that Cat. lxiv. 288-291 was a source for *Culex* 137 *sqq.*

Moschus iii. 115-125 deals with Orpheus' descent :

> ποτὶ Τάρταρον . . . ἐς δόμον Πλουτέος.

Moschus iii. 122-124 has :

> οὐκ ἀγέραστος
> ἐσσεῖθ' ἁ μολπά, χὡς Ὀρφεῖ πρόσθεν ἔδωκεν
> ἀδέα φορμίζοντι παλίσσυτον Εὐρυδίκειαν, . . . ;

and as a reminiscence of the last two lines I can understand " reddere " in *Culex* 286-287 :

> *haec* (*i.e.*, *lyra*) potuit *Eurydicen* ultro *ducendam reddere*.

The *Culex* text, however, is not certain enough to warrant the conclusion that the author of *Culex*, familiar as he is with the Greek pastoral school, uses Moschus here.

Virgil in *Georg.* iv. 507-509 has in mind Ap. Rhod. i. 23 *sqq.*:

Ap. Rhod. i. :

23 πρῶτά νυν Ὀρφῆος μνησώμεθα, τόν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὴ
Καλλιόπη Θρήικι φατίζεται εὐνηθεῖσα
25 Οἰάγρῳ σκοπιῆς Πιμπληίδος ἄγχι τεκέσθαι.
αὐτὰρ τόν γ' ἐνέπουσιν ἀτειρέας οὔρεσι πέτρας
θέλξαι ἀοιδάων ἐνοπῇ ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα.
φηγοὶ δ' ἀγριάδες, κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς,
ἀκτῆς Θρηικίης Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι
30 ἐξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ἃς ὅγ' ἐπιπρὸ
θελγομένας φόρμιγγι κατήγαγε Πιερίηθεν.

Equally well may *Culex* 278-282 be indebted to the same passage.

Virg. *Georg.* iv. 507 seems an echo of Ap. Rhod. i. 29. "Mulcentem" and "agentem" (*Georg.* iv. 509) reproduce *θελγομένας* and *κατήγαγε* (Ap. Rhod. i. 31).

Culex 279 has "blanda uoce" and *Culex* 285 "lyram," corresponding to the Greek *θέλξαι ἀοιδάων ἐνοπῇ* and *φόρμιγγι* (Ap. Rhod. i. 27 and 31).

Culex has nothing corresponding to *κατήγαγε*; but *Culex* 278 has "steterant amnes" corresponding to *ποταμῶν ῥέεθρα*, which Virgil has not.

Both *Culex* and Virgil have "quercus"—the Greek *φηγοί*.

Both *Culex* and Virgil mention the wild beasts.

Thus, *Culex* and Virgil have private reproductions of and common departures from Apollonius Rhodius.

There is no evidence pointing to the priority of *Georg.* iv. decisively.

There is evidence that either *Culex* borrows from *Georg.* iv. or *Georg.* iv. from *Culex*.

There is evidence that both *Culex* and *Georg.* iv. use Apollonius Rhodius directly.

Section N.—*Culex* 248-267.

From this section of *Culex* I can get nothing useful to this enquiry.

The poet may have had before him some list of minor female malefactors. Such lists were extant, at least in prose. He may have collected his list from scattered passages amongst his favourite Greek sources.

> *Culex* 262-264 :
> Alcestis ab omni
> inuiolata manet cura, quod saeua mariti
> in Chalcodoniis Admeti †cura morata est,

might be an echo of

> Ap. Rhod. i. :
> 49 οὐδὲ Φεραῖς Ἄδμητος εὐρρήνεσσιν ἀνάσσων
> 50 μίμνεν ὑπὸ σκοπίην ὄρεος Χαλκωδον.οιο.

Penelope (*Culex* 265-267) is mentioned in *Od.* xi., and is the foil to Clytemnestra, who *οἵ τε κατ' αἶσχος ἔχευε καὶ ἐσσομένῃσιν ὀπίσσω* (*Od.* xi. 433).

There is, anyhow, little or no contact with Virg. *Aen.* vi., except in *Culex* 250,

> anxia sollictis meditantem uulnera natis,

which undoubtedly stands in imitative relation to *Aen.* vi. 445-446 :

> maestamque Eriphylen,
> crudelis nati monstrantem uulnera, . . .

The sources, if any, however, I do not know.

Section O.—*Culex* 295-397.

In this section of *Culex* the poet gives names and incidents connected with—

(i.) The pre-Trojan war heroes.
(ii.) The Trojan war.
(iii.) The return of the heroes to Greece after the Trojan war.
(iv.) The wanderings of Odysseus.

He keeps to the chronological order of history, as he perhaps promised in his exordium ("omnis ut historiae per ludum consonet ordo").

These events he has before him in

(i.) Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*.[1]
(ii.) The *Iliad* xv. Battle of the ships.
(iii.) The *Odyssey* iii.
(iv.) The *Odyssey passim*.

And he would seem to have used Homer directly, paraphrasing with the assistance of Cat. lxiv. once more and with that of an occasional Lucretian reminiscence.

[1] *Culex* 301-302: The "iuuenis acer" is Idas, the famous Argonaut. He it is who recalls the battle of the ships (*Culex* 302-303, "referens a nauibus ignis Argolicis Phrygios turba trepidante repulsos") described in the *Iliad*, because it was Ida who was responsible for it (*Culex* 311, "namque Ida . ."). *Cf.* a similar association of ideas by accidentals in "bocchus Libyae regis memor" (*Culex* 406).

Culex

Culex :

315 hinc erat oppositus contra Telamonius heros
316 obiectoque dabat clipeo certamina, et illinc
317 Hector erat, Troiae summum decus, acer uterque
319 hic manibus telisque super . . .
320 eriperet reditus, alter Vulcania ferro
321 uulnera protectus depellere nauibus instat.

Iliad xv. :

414 ἄλλοι δ' ἀμφ' ἄλλῃσι μάχην ἐμάχοντο νέεσσιν·
415 Ἕκτωρ δ' ἄντ' Αἴαντος ἐείσατο κυδαλίμοιο·
416 τῷ δὲ μιῆς περὶ νηὸς ἔχον πόνον, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο
417 οὔθ' ὑ τὸν ἐξελάσαι καὶ ἐνιπρῆσαι πυρὶ νῆα,
418 οὔθ' ὁ τὸν ἄψ ὤσασθαι, . . .

Culex :

320 eriperet reditus

Iliad xvi. :

81 μὴ δὴ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
82 νῆας ἐνιπρήσωσι, φίλον δ' ἀπὸ νόστον ἕλωνται

ulex :

306 manaret sanguine tellus

Iliad xv. :

715 ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα μέλαινα

Culex :

342 ibat in altum
343 uis Argea petens patriam ditataque praeda
344 comes huic erat aura secunda
345 per placidum cursu pelagus.

345 Nereis ad undas
346 signa dabat

344 comes huic erat aura secunda
345 per . . . pelagus.

Odyssey iii. :

153 ἠῶθεν δ' οἱ μὲν νέας ἕλκομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν
154 κτήματά τ' ἐντιθέμεσθα βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.
157 αἱ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα
158 ἔπλεον, ἐστόρεσεν δὲ θεὸς μεγακήτεα πόντον.

173 ᾔτέομεν δὲ θεὸν φῆναι τέρας· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἡμῖν
174 δεῖξε,

174 καὶ ἠνώγει πέλαγος μέσον εἰς Εὔβοιαν
175 τέμνειν, . . .
176 ὧρτο δ' ἐπὶ λιγὺς οὖρος ἀήμεναι . . .

Culex 314 : classibus ambustis flamma† lacrimante daretur
Lucr. ii. 673 : tum porro quaecumque igni flammata cremantur
Lucr. vi. 155 : terribili sonitu flamma crepitante crematur

Culex 331 : illum Scylla rapax canibus succincta Molossis
Lucr. v. 892 : aut rabidis canibus succinctas semimarinis
893 : corporibus Scyllas
Lucr. v. 1063 : irritata canum cum primum magna Molossum

[Cat. lxiv. 156, "Scylla rapax."]

For *Culex* 347-352, if the poet wanted any inspiration for his storm, he would find it in Lucr. v. 1226-1237 and Lucr. vi. 153, 156, 395.

Of greater importance to this enquiry is the relation of *Culex* to Cat. lxiv. 343 *sqq.*, which opens up a most interesting avenue of speculation :

Cat. lxiv. :
343 non illi quisquam bello se conferet heros,
344 *cum Phrygii Teucro manabunt sanguine* campi,
345 Troicaque obsidens longinquo moenia bello
346 periuri Pelopis uastabit tertius heres.

Culex :
303 *Phrygios*
306 *Teucria cum* magno *manavet sanguine* tellus

357 *testis* erit magnis uirtutibus *unda* Scamandri,
358 quae passim rapido diffunditur *Hellesponto*,
359 cuius iter caesis angustans corporum aceruis
360 alta tepefaciet permixta flumina caede.
361 (currite ducentes subtegmina currite fusi)

338 *Hellespontiacis* obiturus *reddidit undis.*
339 illa uices hominum *testata* est *copia* quondam,

Cat. lxiv. :	*Culex :*
362 denique *testis* erit *morti quoque reddita praeda* . . .	342 ibat in altum
366 nam simul ac fessis dederit fors *copiam Achiuis*	343 *uis Argea* petens patriam ditataque *praeda*
367 *urbis Dardaniae* Neptunia soluere uincla	344 *arcis Ericthoniae*

The *Culex* touches Cat. lxiv. elsewhere too often and too closely to allow us to think that these similarities are accidental. *Culex* is imitating Catullus either at first or second hand.

It will be worth while to compare *Culex* 306-310 with *Aen.* v. 803-811.

Culex :	*Aen.* v. :
306 Teucria cum magno manaret sanguine tellus,	803 nec minor in terris, Xanthum Simoentaque *testor*,
307 et Simois Xanthique liquor, Sigeaque propter	804 Aeneae mihi cura tui. cum Troia Achilles
308 litora, cum Troas saeui ducis Hectoris ira	805 examinata sequens impingeret agmina muris,
309 truderet in classis inimica mente Pelasgas,	806 milia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti
310 uulnera tela neces ignis inferre paratos.	807 amnes, nec reperire uiam atque euoluere posset
	808 in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego fortis
	809 congressum Aenean nec dis nec uiribus aequis
	810 nube caua rapui, cuperem cum uertere ab imo
	811 structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.

It is only in the light of *Culex* that we can be sure that Virgil is here "borrowing" from Cat. lxiv. 343 *sqq.*, so elusive are the reminiscences. Yet when *Culex* is seen to have contact with Virgil here, and is known to imitate Cat. lxiv. 343 *sqq.*, it is not hard to

trace "testor" to the suggestion of the repeated Catullan "testis," and "periurae moenia Troiae" to the Catullan "Troica moenia periuri Pelopis"; and it is not difficult to understand how Virgil is in *Aen.* v. 806-808 carried back to *Iliad* xxi. 218-220, Scamander's complaint, from the Catullan "Scamandri" and Cat. lxiv. 359.

Here we have in Virgil private reproductions of the Catullan source.

But there is a private reproduction in *Culex* of far more significance.

Culex 304-306 contains two *cum* + Subjunctive clauses in the sentence.

Aen. v. 804-811 also contains two *cum* + Subjunctive clauses in the sentence.

The second *Culex cum*-clause, "cum Troas truderet in classis," corresponds to the first *Aeneid cum*-clause, "cum Troia agmina impingeret muris." One was written after and in variation of the other.

Now *Culex* 306, the first *Culex cum*-clause, is a private reproduction of Cat. lxiv. 344, "cum Phrygii Teucro manabunt sanguine campi."

The change from the Catullan *cum* + Future Indicative to *cum* + Imperfect Subjunctive is a departure common to both *Culex* and Virgil here.

Thus within the compass of a single line we find *Culex* and Virgil both departing in common from the source, and *Culex* with a private reproduction absent from Virgil.

We must infer that the common departure started with *Culex*.

Culex 332, 334, 354, 355, have contact with *Aen.* xi. 259-263; but I have been able to get nothing to the point from these passages.

Culex 337 : reddidit heu Graius poenas tibi, Troia, ruenti
Aen. vi. 18 : redditus his primum terras tibi, Phoebe, sacrauit

Above I suggested that "reddidit" was a reminiscence of Cat. lxiv. 362, *Culex* 337 *sqq.* paraphrasing Cat. lxiv. 357 *sqq.*

If that is so, and if the lines quoted stand, as they seem to stand, in "imitative" relationship, then *Culex* 337 looks to be first in the field.

Culex 331 : illum Scylla rapax canibus succincta Molossis
Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 74 : Scyllam . . .
75 : candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris . . .
77 : canibus lacerasse marinis

After comparing these passages with verse 156 of *Culex*'s favourite Cat. lxiv. and with Lucr. v. 892-893 and 1063, I despair of getting any result.

Culex:
304 o quis non referat talis diuortia belli?
320 alter Vulcania ferro
321 uulnera protectus depellere nauibus instat

Aen. i.:
565 quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem
566 uirtutesque uirosque aut tanti incendia belli?

Aen. ix.:
77 quis deus, o Musae, tam saeua incendia Teucris
78 auertit? tantos ratibus quis depulit ignis?

Culex :

311 ipsa sudis namque Ida
parens feritatis et ipsa
312 Ida faces . . .

Aen. ix.

80 tempore quo primum
Phrygia formabat in Ida
81 Aeneas classem, et pelagi
petere alta parabat,
82 ipsa deum fertur genetrix
Berecyntia magnum
83 uocibus his adfata Iouem

Aen. ix. 77-78 is a variation of *Iliad* xvi. 112-113 :

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ὅππως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

It departs from that source precisely where it approaches *Culex* 304 through *Aen.* i. 565-566.

The averted conflagration of *Aen.* ix. is Virgil's own invention. *Culex* 304 *sqq.* is reproducing the Homeric battle of the ships in brief. The poet's plan of campaign is to summarize history as told by the Greek poets ; and I cannot think that he came to the Homeric battle from the Virgilian.

Section P.—*Culex* 358-371.

The *Culex* list is much like all its kind (of necessity), and has some points of contact with Virg. *Georg.* ii. 169-170 and *Aen.* vi. 824-846.

I notice that *Culex* does not include Caesar amongst the Roman worthies—rather unexpected, perhaps, for a poet writing after and in imitation of Virgil and dedicating his poem to Octavius.

One point of interest :

Culex 370-371 : Scipiadasque duces, quorum deuota triumphis
moenia sub lappis Libycae Carthaginis horrent.
Aen. vi. 842-843 : geminos, duo fulmina belli,
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae
Virg. *Georg.* ii. 170 : Scipiadas duros bello

The common source is Lucr. iii. 1034 :

Scipiadas, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror.

Aen. vi. and *Culex* have as common reproduction "Scipiadas."

Aen. vi. has as private reproduction "fulmina belli."

Culex has as private reproductions "Carthaginis" and "horrent."

Aen. vi. and *Culex* have as common departure "Libycae—Libyae."

Thus, both *Culex* and *Aen.* vi. borrow directly from the common source; and also either *Culex* borrows from *Aen.* vi. or *Aen.* vi. borrows from *Culex.*

Within one phrase we find *Culex* reproducing the Lucretian "Carthaginis" together with a departure "Libycae." Virgil, needing the same or kindred phrase, has the departure "Libyae," without the Lucretian "Carthaginis."

But Virgil retains the Lucretian form, "cladem Libyae," corresponding to "Carthaginis horror."

No conclusion as to priority can be drawn.

All we can say is that here once again is the unbroken circle: Source, Culex—Virgil; source, Virgil—Culex.

Section Q.—*Culex* 385-400 and 411-414.

Culex 390 : riuum propter aquae, uiridi sub fronde latentem . . .
Lucr. ii. 30 : propter aquae riuum sub ramis arboris altae . . .

Culex 411 : . . . fronte locatur
Lucr. i. 879 : in fronte locata
Lucr. iv. 71 : fronte locata
} *line-endings.*

Section R.—*Culex* 398-410.

Having regard to the constant parallelism of *Culex* to Virgil's authentic works, it does not seem too bold to conclude the existence of an imitative relationship between the *Culex* garden and the garden of *Georg.* iv. 116-148, where we observe that the poets have so much in common in their selection of the plants :

Culex 408-409 : narcissus—cui gloria formae | igne cupidineo proprios exarsit in artus
Georg. iv. 122-123 : narcissum—sera comantem

Culex 398 : acanthos—
Georg. iv. 123 : acanthi—flexi

Culex 405 : hederae—pallente corymbo
Georg. iv. 124 : hederas—pallentis

Culex 400 : myrtus—Spartica
Georg. iv. 124 : myrtos—amantis litora

Culex 403 : lilia—
Georg. iv. 130-131 : lilia—alba.

Culex 399 : rosa — purpureum crescens pudibunda per orbem
Georg. iv. 134 : rosam—

Culex 401 : hyacinthos—
Georg. iv. 137 : hyacinthi—mollis

Culex 410 : et quoscumque nouant uernantia tempora flores
Georg. iv. 142-143 : quotque in flore nouo pomis se fertilis arbos induerat, totidem autumno matura tenebat.

[Both *Culex* and *Georg.* iv. end the list on the same note.]

Moreover, *Culex* 398-407 has contact with *Georg.* ii. 117-119:

Culex:	*Georg.* ii.:
398 hic et acanthos	117 solis est turea uirga Sabaeis
404 herbaque turis opes pris-cis imitata Sabina	119 bacas semper frondentis acanthi.
407 semper florida tinus	

A comparison of *Culex* 398-410 with the fragments remaining from Nicander's *Georgics* ii. leaves little doubt that our poet wrote under Nicander's influence.

(i.) There are even some indications of imitation in phrase:

Nic. *Georg. Frag. Lib.* ii. 2: γένη γε μὲν ἰάσι δισσά
Culex 400: et uiolae omne genus

Nic. *Georg. Frag. Lib.* ii. 22: . . . ὄφρα δύο κροκόωντες ἐπιζυγέοντε κορύμβοις
Culex 405: hederaeque nitor pallente corymbo

(ii.) *Culex* uses Greek forms in the names of the plants.

(iii.) *Culex*, ending the list with "et quoscumque flores" . . ., has exemplified a Nicander mannerism —*e.g.*:

Nic. *Georg. Frag. Lib.* ii:

53 λιβάνου τε νέας κλάδας, ἠδ' ὅσα κῆποι
54 ἀνδράσιν ἐργοπόνοις στεφάνους ἐπιπορσαίνουσιν

e.g. 57 σισύμβριον, ὅσσα τε κοίλοις . . .
e.g. 60 ὑάκινθον, ἰωνιάδας τε χαμηλάς, . . .
62 . . . ὅσσα τε τύμβοι
63 φάσγανα παρθενικαῖς νεοδουπέσιν ἀμφιχέονται.

Virg. *Georg.* iv. 142-143 has also the same feature. He is speaking of trees, not of flowers.

(iv.) *Culex* has the Nicander habit of tacking on to his flowers geographical and mythological or historical information *en passant :*

E.g. *Culex* 400 : Spartica myrtus ; *Culex* 401 : Cilici crocus editus aruo ; *Culex* 404 : herbaque turis opes priscis imitata Sabina ; *Culex* 406 : bocchus Libyae regis memor ; *Culex* 408-409 : narcissus, cui gloria formae igne cupidineo proprios exarsit in artus.

Cf. Nic. *Ther.* 902-906—Nicander on the hyacinth —Phoebus, Hyacinthus, Eurotas River.

[Nic. *Alex.* 604-606—The Sisyphids and Melicertes.]

Cf. Nic. *Georg. Frag. Lib.* ii. 4-8—Nicander on violets offered to Ion by the Ioniads at Pisa.

Cf. Nic. *Georg. Frag. Lib.* ii. 11-16—Digression on roses and Midas.

Cf. { *Culex* 402 : laurus item Phoebi surgens decus
{ Nic. *Frag.* vii. : φηγοὶ, Πανὸς ἄγαλμα.

From whatever source the author of *Culex* caught this horrible mannerism it was not from *Georg.* iv. 116 *sqq.*

Virgil does quite often, with discretion and with success, ornament his descriptions of flora and fauna with mythology. He owes in that respect a debt to Nicander for pointing the way ; he owes to himself alone moderation in the use of what Nicander worked to death.

In *Georg.* iv. 116 *sqq.* Virgil prefers to describe his flowers by some personal characteristic of their own.

There is, then, no reason to suppose that *Culex* in this section follows *Georg.* iv.; but good reason to believe that *Culex* imitates Nicander.

If so, it is probable that *Georg.* iv. used *Culex's* list of plants; since Nicander's mannerisms dominate *Culex*, and appear, but only in one smaller detail (present also in *Culex*) appear, also in *Georg.* iv.

Culex still seems to remain faithful to Lucretius of the Latins:

Culex 400: Spartica myrtus
Culex 402: Laurus item Phoebi surgens decus
Lucr. vi. 154: Phoebi Delphica laurus

Culex 401: Cilici crocus editus aruo
Lucr. ii. 416: et cum scena croco Cilici perfusa recens est.

Culex AND HORACE'S *Odes*.

Hor. *Odes* I. xvii. :

5 impune tutum per nemus arbutos
6 quaerunt latentis et thyma deuiae
7 olentis uxores mariti,
8 nec uiridis metuunt colubras. . . .

Hor. *Odes* II. xiii. :

21 quam paene furuae regna Proserpine
22 et iudicantem uidimus Aeacum
23 sedesque discriptas piorum et
24 Aeoliis fidibus querentem. . . .

Culex :

374 quo, maxime Minos,
373 consecelerata pia discernis uincula sede

[v.23 : "discriptas" A′B, "descriptas" $\gamma\nu$CRπ, "discretas" Fλ′L.]

Hor. *Odes* III. xi. :

13 tu potes tigris comitesque siluas
14 ducere et riuos celeres morari ;
15 cessit immanis tibi blandienti
16 ianitor aulae.

Horace is evidently imitating *Georg.* iv., Orpheus episode ; yet he has also features present only in the *Culex*, Orpheus episode ; and he ends the *Ode* on the *Culex* note :

50 i secundo
51 omine et nostri memorem sepulchro
52 scalpe querellam.

Tibullus and *Culex*.

Tib. I. x.:

9 non arces, non uallus erat, somnumque petebat
10 securus uarias dux gregis inter oues.
11 tunc mihi uita foret, uulgi nec tristia nossem
12 arma nec audissem corde micante tubam
19 tunc melius tenuere fidem, cum paupere cultu
20 stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus

[Tib. II. v. 28:

28 et facta agresti lignea falce Pales.]

Culex:

159 anxius insidiis nullis, sed lentus in herbis
160 securo pressos somno mandauerat artus
175 recubare ducem gregis
81 non auidas agnouit opes nec tristia bella . . .
86 illi falce deus colitur non arte politus . . .
95 . . . non divite cultu
226 . . . ex rure recessit
227 iustitiae prior illa fides.

The *Culex* vv. 79-97 is imitating Lucretius II. directly. *Culex* 81-82 reproduces the Lucretian land and water warfare (*see above*), but departs from Lucretian phraseology in "tristia." Tibullus omits the Lucretian "classis" (*Culex* 82), and has the departure in "tristia," departing further from Lucretius' "belli" with "arma."

That is, Tibullus has in common with *Culex* a departure, and has also a private departure; so that in the end he has nothing of Lucretius left.

Propertius and *Culex*.

Propertius and *Culex* have many points of contact; and the examination of parallels between them leaves no doubt of *Culex*'s priority.

Culex :	133	perfide Demophoon et nunc deflende puellis
Prop. IV. [V.] vii. :	13	perfide nec cuiquam melior sperande puellae,
	14	in te iam uires somnus habere potest ?

Culex 133, "perfide," imitates directly Cat. lxiv. (*see above*).

Propertius has nothing of the Catullan repetition.

Culex AND PROP. I. XX.

[*Cf.* Theoc. xiii. and Ap. Rhod. i. 1172-1272.]

Culex :	Prop. I. xx. :
13–17	=7–10 [*after* Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 6–7].
296 uos manet heorum contra manus	=21 hic manus heroum
327 huic gerit auersos proles Laertia uultus	=25 hunc duo sectati fratres Aquilonia proles
251 iam Pandionias . . .	=31 iam Pandioniae . . .
322 hoc erat Aeacides . . .	=33 hic erat Arganthi . . .
123 nam primum prona surgebant ualle patentes	=37 et circum irriguo surgebant lilia prato
124 aeriae platanus, inter quas impia lotos	=38 candida purpureis mixta papaueribus.

Propertius appears to draw from Theoc. xiii. [*e.g.* :

Theoc. xiii.	23-24 =	Prop. I. xx.	18
,,	32-33 =	,,	21-22
,,	36-37 =	,,	23-24
,,	40-42 =	,,	37-38
,,	46-49 =	,,	43-47
,,	58-59 =	,,	48-50]

and from Ap. Rhod. i. 1172-1272 (who had studied Theoc. xiii.), from whom Propertius gets " Mysorum,

Pege, Arganthi," etc., together with the dances of the nymphs ("solitos choros").

Now none of the *Culex*-Propertius similarities appear in either Theocritus or Apollonius Rhodius.

"Manus heroum" is not in Theoc. xiii. 32-33. There is general resemblance only between Theoc. xiii. 40-42 and Prop. I. xx. 37-38, nothing like "surgebant" and "mixta" in Theocritus.

So that, if we believe that *Culex* is written after Prop. I. xx., and has reminiscences of Propertian line-openings, etc., we must suppose that *Culex* happened by chance to take over from Propertius nothing which Propertius had from his two main sources. That would be a curious accident, considering Propertius' debt to Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius is so large.

There is, however, an alternative theory, which does not strain the imaginative faculties so much.

Culex AND PROPERTIUS II. 1.

Culex:	Prop. II. i.:
12 Phoebus erit nostri princeps et carminis auctor	3 non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo;
13 et recanente lyra fautor, siue educat illum	4 ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit.
14 Arna Chimaereo Xanthi perfusa liquore,	5 Siue . . .
15 seu decus Asteriae seu qua Parnasia rupes	7 seu uidi . . .
16 hinc atque hinc patula praepandit cornua fronte	9 siue lyrae carmen digitis percussit eburnis
	11 seu . . .

Culex :	Prop. II. i. :
26 tibi namque canit non pagina bellum	19 non ego Titanas canerem, non Ossan Olympo
27 triste Iouis ponitque . . .	20 impositam, ut caeli Pelion esset iter,
28 Phlegra, Giganteo sparsa est quae sanguine tellus,	21 non ueteres Thebas, nec Pergama, nomen Homeri,
29 nec Centaureos Lapithas compellit in ensis,	
30 urit Ericthonias Oriens non ignibus arces,	
31 non perfossus Athos nec magno uincula ponto	
32 iacta meo quaerent iam sera uolumine famam,	
33 non Hellespontus pedibus pulsatus equorum,	22 Xerxis et imperio bina coisse uada
34 Graecia cum timuit uenientis undique Persas.	39 sed neque Phlegraeos Iouis Enceladique tumultum
	40 intonet angusto pectore Callimachus.

Culex 33-34 is imitated directly from Lucretius (*see above*). Prop. II. i. 21 does not even remotely recall the Lucretian lines.

PROPERTIUS III. [IV.] VII. [VI.] AND *Culex* 339 *saq.*

Both Propertius and *Culex* here imitate Cat. lxiv. directly. The subject of both poems is the same in all essentials. Both *Culex* 339 "testata," and Prop. III. vii. 21 "testantia" are derived from the Catullan "testis" (Cat. lxiv. 357 *sqq.*).

They have a common departure from Catullus :

Culex:

354 immoriturque super fluctus et sexa Capherei
355 Euboicas aut per cautes Aegaeaque late
356 litora, *cum* Phrygiae passim uaga praeda perempta
357 omnis in aequoreo fluitat iam naufraga fluctu.

Prop. III. vii.:

39 saxa triumphalis fregere Capherea puppes
40 naufraga *cum* uasto Graecia tracta salost

Culex AND PROPERTIUS III. [IV.] IX. [VIII.]

Culex:

26 tibi namque canit non pagina bellum
27 triste Iouis ponitque . . .
28 Phlegra, Giganteo sparsa est quae sanguine tellus,
30 urit Ericthonias Oriens non ignibus arces
33 non Hellespontus pedibus pulsatus equorum,
34 *Graecia cum* timuit uenientis undique Persas

Prop. III. ix.

37 non flebo in cineres arcem sedisse repentes
38 Cadmi nec semper proelia clade pari,
39 nec referam Scaeas et Pergama Apollinis arces,
40 et Danaum decimo uere redisse rates,
41 *moenia cum* Graio Neptunia pressit aratro
42 uictor Palladiae ligneus artis equus.
47 te duce uel Iouis arma canam caeloque minantem
48 Coeum et Phlegraeis Eurymedonta iugis.

24 et tu cui meritis oritur fiducia chartis,
25 Octaui uenerande, meis adlabere coeptis
35 mollia sed tenui decurrere carmina uersu
36 uiribus acta suis Phoebo duce ludere gaudent
37 haec tibi, sancte puer, memorabimus, haec tibi restet

47 te duce . . . canam
57 mollia tu coeptae fautor cape lora iuuentae

59 hoc mihi, Maecenas, laudis concedis et a te est

It is evident that Propertius, writing "nec referam Scaeas et Pergama Apollinis arces," had in mind his disclaimer in Prop. II. i. 20, "non ueteres Thebas, nec Pergama nomen Homeri."

A comparison between *Culex* and Prop. II. i. gives good ground (*see above*) for supposing that an imitative relationship exists between the two. That ground is made so much the firmer by the existence of mutual contact between *Culex*, Prop. II. i., and Prop. III. ix.

Prop. II. i. 21 has:

> Xerxis et imperio bina coiisse uada

which corresponds to

Culex 31-34:

> non perfossus Athos nec magno uincula ponto
> iacta meo quaerent iam sera uolumine famam,
> non Hellespontus pedibus pulsatus equorum,
> *Graecia cum* timuit uenientis undique Persas.

Prop. III. ix. 41-42 has:

> *moenia cum* . . . equus.

The *Culex* "Graecia cum" was derived from Lucretius (*see above*).

The obvious inference is left to the reader.

Culex AND OVID, *Rem. Amoris.*

In vv. 169-210 Ovid certainly has in mind Virgil's *Georgics*, as he describes the distractions of a country life; and of this portion of the *Remedia* vv. 177-182 recall *Culex's* goats browsing on the hillside, watched by the musical herdsman.

Rem. Am.:	*Culex:*
177 adspice labentes iucundo murmure riuos:	51 (capellae) scrupea desertis haerebant ad caua ripis.
178 adspice tondentes fertile gramen oues.	50 tondebant tenero uiridantia gramina morsu . . .
179 ecce, petunt rupes praeruptaque saxa capellae;	
180 iam referent haedis ubera plena suis.	
181 pastor inaequali modulatur harundine carmen,	99 pastor agit curas, et dum non arte canora
182 nec desunt comites, sedula turba, canes.	100 compacta solitum modulatur harundine carmen.

Rem. Am.: 597 perfide Demophoon, surdas clamabat ad undas
Culex 133: perfide Demophoon.

[The *Culex* repetition (but not in connexion with Demophoon) of "perfide" came from Cat. lxiv. Ovid has the departure, not the reproduction.]

In *Rem. Am.* 361-398 Ovid answers the critics. Homer, he says, was attacked by the envious tooth, and so, too, Virgil, "pertulit huc uictos quo duce Troia deos" (v. 368). A poem must be judged by its intention—"si sapis, ad numeros exige quidque suos."

It is here that Ovid recalls the *Culex's* apologetic exordium:

Rem. Am.:	*Culex:*
387 si mea materiae respondet Musa iocosae,	4 omnis ut historiae per ludum consonet ordo
388 uicimus, et falsi criminis acta rea est.	5 notitiae doctumque uoces, licet inuidus adsit.
389 rumpere, liuor edax. magnum iam nomen habemus;	6 quisquis erit culpare iocos Musamque paratus,

Rem. Am.:

390 maius erit, tantum quo pede coepit eat.
395 tantum se nobis elegi debere fatentur,
396 quantum Vergilio nobile debet epos.
397 hactenus inuidiae respondimus.

Culex:

7 pondere uel culicis leuior famaque feretur.
8 posterius grauiore sono tibi Musa loquetur
9 nostra, dabunt cum securos mihi tempora fructus.

The defences of "Musa iocosa" are on all fours. Virgil is specifically mentioned by Ovid twice—once by reference to the *Aeneid* (v. 368), once by name here (v. 396). Ovid promises himself better things in the future (v. 390), as the author of *Culex* (*Culex* 8-9). He will be as great as Virgil (vv. 395-396). Surely the argument is: Virgil wrote in playful mood. He later wrote the *Aeneid*. I write in playful mood. I shall later write my masterpiece. What did Virgil write in playful mood? Ovid must mean the *Culex*.

SUMMARY

THE *Culex* is essentially imitative verse, but not imitative of the authentic Virgilian works. Its sources are pre-Virgilian poetry. It is absurd to argue that *Culex* appears to imitate pre-Virgilian poetry directly only because it imitates Virgilian verse which imitates. For, first, it is not only in passages which resemble Virgilian verse that we find consistent borrowing on the part of *Culex's* author from Virgil's predecessors, and, secondly, even where *Culex* does resemble Virgilian verse, in no instance does *Culex* fail to exhibit private reproductions of the common source.

The author of *Culex*, even granting for the moment that he wrote after and in imitation of Virgil, must anyhow have taken the trouble to dig up again from memory or manuscript the original Greek and Latin verses from which Virgil had borrowed before him.

The main sources for *Culex* are: Lucretius ii., iii., v., Catullus lxiv., Nicander *Theriaca* and *Georgica*, Theocritus *passim*. The debt of *Culex* to Homer and to Apollonius Rhodius is comparatively light.

As for the question whether *Culex* borrows from *Aeneid* and *Georgics* of Virgil, its answer is sufficiently given by the fact that, on the whole, where *Culex*

and those authentic Virgilian poems both imitate in common and also resemble one another, there *Culex* is consistently more faithful to the source. For example, *Culex*'s "Praises of the Country Life" is far and away closer to Lucretius than the similar rhapsody in Virgil's *Georgics* ii.

The inference must be drawn that Virgil borrows from *Culex*. And why not? Propertius, certainly, and Tibullus, probably, did not disdain to profit by the poem.

As for the question of Virgilian authorship, the answer is not doubtful in the light of the ascertained facts:

(i.) There is no internal proof that *Culex* depends upon the authentic Virgilian works. What proof of that dependence can there be, if *Culex* never fails to employ, where it resembles Virgilian verse, the original sources which Virgil used, if he used any, and in employing them is on the whole more faithful to the sources, Greek or Latin, than is Virgil?

(ii.) Almost in every case where *Culex* and Virgilian verse resemble one another, *Culex* and Virgil employ the same sources in the original.

That is to say, either Virgil knew where the author of *Culex* borrowed almost in every instance (and where that is not true, the ignorance is consistently Virgil's) or vice versa.

The knowledge which the one must have had of the 'modus operandi' of the other is extraordinarily minute, not confined to passages where the pre-

decessor borrows boldly and literally from Lucretius or Catullus or Theocritus, but extending to casual half-lines and phrases where the follower, be he the author of *Culex* or Virgil, has only a half-changed thought of the original, an association of ideas, a sequence of suggestions or vague reminiscence to guide him back to the Lucretian or Catullan or Theocritean source.

Why, in such a case, should not the "alter ego" be also the "ego"?

(iii.) The *Culex* is indebted to the poems in which Virgil was most interested in his pre-*Aeneid* days—particularly to Catullus lxiv.

(iv.) Possibly Virgil claims the *Culex* in *Eclogues* i. Possibly Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid employ *Culex* side by side with Virgilian authentic works.

There is a mass of external post-Augustan evidence and authority, including names of illustrious poets, which ascribe a *Culex* poem to Virgil.

A critical device to shift the weight of this authority, when any critic wishes to record his opinion against Virgilian authorship, is to name *Culex* for a parody of Virgil or for a forgery.

But a parody is not a parody when it ignores the victim in favour of other well-known writers; nor does the theory of forgery explain how it came about that *Culex* was ever ascribed to Virgil by the Romans. Let *Culex* appear in all its imperfection before the lettered public and its very resemblances to Virgil would brand it as an imitation of the famous poet's work, not help to palm it off as Virgil's own work.

A superlative forger, a master of his art, would have written a fifth book of the *Georgics*, using Nicander, Hesiod, Aratus, and Homer with the Sicilian pastoral school, together with Lucretius, Catullus, Ennius, in anticipation of Columella x., and he would have avoided the ground which Virgil had covered. Using Virgilian mannerisms and a few line-endings discreetly, and with care attending to the fifth foot pause, he might have a chance of deceiving the elect—a very slender one.

No argument worthy of the name has ever been brought forward to account for and explain away the tradition ascribing *Culex* to Virgil.

The best that can be produced is that which, while agreeing that Virgil did write a *Culex*, denies that the *Culex* which we have is the *Culex* which Virgil wrote.

But Virgilian biographers quote lines of the *Culex* which we have and, more important, there are traces of *Culex* influence in Propertius, Ovid (and Tibullus).

To fall back on the hypothesis that our *Culex* is in part Virgil's *Culex* and in part additions made by later forgers or editors is a desperate refuge. The influence of Lucretius and Catullus is traceable all through our *Culex*, except in the snake description, perhaps—and that description is absolutely necessary to the plot of the poem.

The *Culex* which we have is the work of one hand.

But the *Culex* was not formally published, and I doubt if it was ever intended for publication. As it

stands and as it was left by its author, it is an exercise in imitation or, rather, a number of discrete exercises. The poet probably intended to write a work of the Romano-Alexandrine-epyllion type, following the fashion of his much-admired Catullus' "Marriage of Peleus and Thetis."

Had he completed his plan, it would, I think, have issued in a shorter "Guide to Mythology for a Small Boy," which took the youthful Octavius (whoever he is) through the old paths of Greek heroism as traced in his school manual, not without sound moral advice on the way rendered more palatable by the sugar of a good and exciting story, down to the heroism of Rome, all in strict chronological order.

As it is, we have in *Culex*, incorporated in the body of the poem, a number of pairs of passages, one of which was destined to be dismissed and the other retained in a final revision. The unwanted alternative is not there because the poet has a habit of redundancy: it is there because the poet never revised and "edited" his work from a series of exercises into a complete whole.

No poet, however "redundant," says, as our poet says in *Culex* 101-108: "Now it was mid-day and the shepherd drove . . . now it was mid-day and the shepherd drove . . ."

Culex 210-216 and 223-232 are only alternatives which some busybody has fitted into their present place. To whom does "quem" of v. 233 refer if not to Cerberus?

Similarly *Culex* 58-78 and *Culex* 79-97 are alterna-

tives, and it is easy to pick out a dozen single lines which could be dismissed without leaving a trace of their removal and the poem consistently better off.

The poet is "trying out" tricks of the trade, *e.g.*:

The Catullan repetition in *Culex* 231-232, 124-125, 132-133 (both the latter from Cat. lxiv. inside ten lines);

the Catullan string of single lines, "five-word gems," as in *Culex* 50-53 (Cat. lxiv. 256-264, 37-42);

the vocative use exemplified in Cat. lxiv. 253, 69 as in *Culex* 110, 132-133;

the (specifically Virgilian) fourth-foot pause perfected from the Greek in *Culex* 398, 402, 406—three times *hic, hic, hic.*

He is trying alliterations and assonances, sometimes with success.

It is all the effort and exertion which we have, not the finished product of an assured technique.

Even where the poet improves upon his chosen masters, Lucretius and Catullus, as in his management of the fourth-foot pause, he cannot refrain from abusing his good fortune. It costs him labour to secure it.

But all the effort and exertion in imitation and in improving upon the past is just what we should expect, not only in a youthful Virgil, but in a maturer Virgil in the first stages of composition. The author of the *Georgics* would have rejected many, indeed most, of *Culex's* lines: he would not have quarrelled seriously with the poet's philosophy of life.

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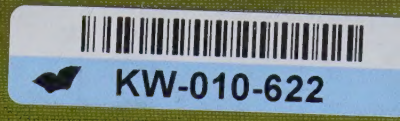
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